

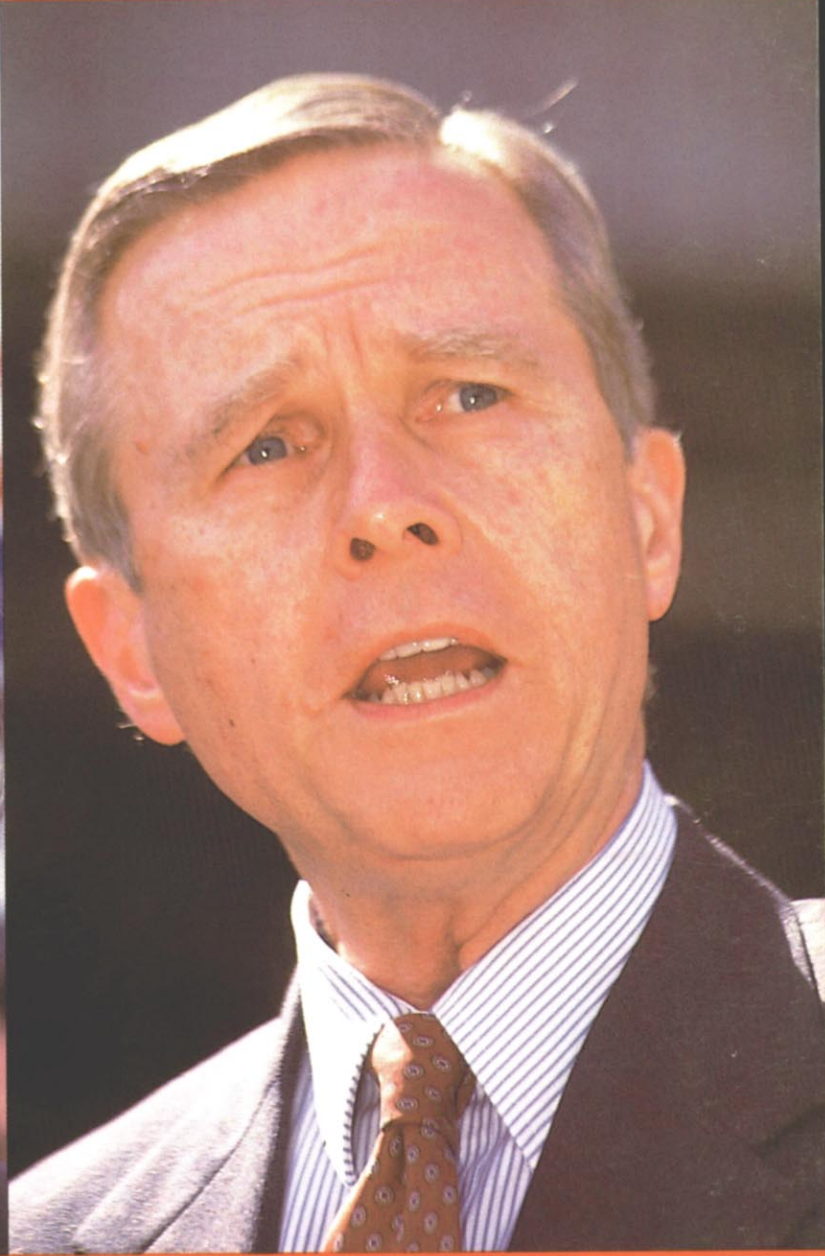
Election
Preview

October 1994 \$3.95

California

Independent analysis of politics and government

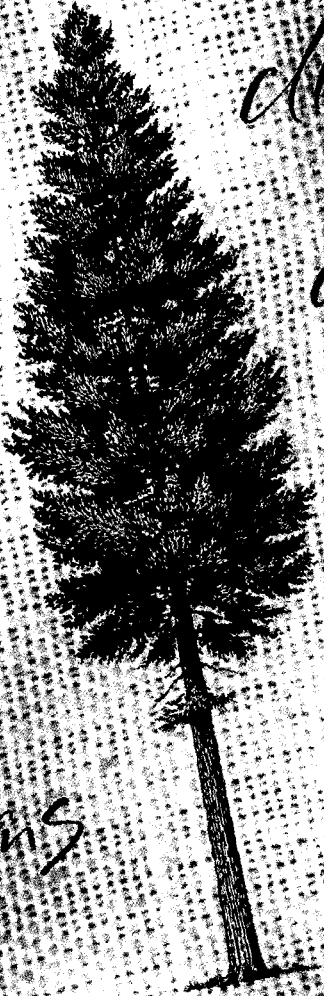
JOURNAL



Governor '94 Brown vs. Wilson

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Governor '94

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As Republican Pete Wilson and Democrat Kathleen Brown head into the final month of their campaign, the question remains: Why would anyone want the job?

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Democrat Dianne Feinstein and Republican Michael Huffington are running decidedly different campaigns for the U.S. Senate.

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Up Front

UMBRAGE

Love note of the month. It comes from Ann Richards, Democratic governor of Texas, and was addressed to Pete Wilson, Republican governor of California. "Twelve million dollars to run that silly ad! And I thought you were trying to balance your budget. There are reasons why Texas has led the nation in job growth for the last three years in a row: great entrepreneurial spirit and a superior work force. *Everything is bigger and better in Texas...*" Richards' letter, which referred to an ad campaign meant to lure business to California, was faxed to reporters by the Kathleen Brown campaign. By the way, what's really bigger and better in Texas are the tumbleweeds, the cattle herds and the tax giveaways.

Through the Hart. Political-action committees are formed for all kinds of reasons, but usually they're designed to support or oppose some candidate or cause. Rarely are they formed to oppose a person. Now comes Martin Easton of Clayton in Contra Costa County. He's formed a PAC called "Californians against Gary Hart," which is aimed squarely at the Santa Barbara lawmaker. Hart, however, is not seeking re-election to his Senate seat. In fact, Hart has insisted that he's getting out of politics. So why is Easton so honked off? "It's a firearms issue," explained Easton, who said he warned Hart in January that he risked Easton's wrath if he pursued anti-handgun legislation. Hart introduced several measures designed to control the spread of handguns, and Easton followed through with his threat. "We want our enemies to know that they can't just introduce [bills] like this and then think they can quietly retire ... to spend time with their families," Easton said of Hart. "Californians Against Gary Hart" is a political arm of the American Pro-Constitutional Association, which Easton also formed to promote pro-gun issues. The Secretary of State's Office certified Easton's PAC in July.

Mentor. Seen on the desk of Senate President pro Tempore Bill Lockyer (D-Hayward): a copy of the book, "Leadership Secrets of Attila the Hun."



Do you know this man? Hint, check the hair color. (Answer on page 5)

Jurist of the month: You're a lawyer, and your client is the former wife of a baseball megastar in a dispute with her ex over alimony and child-support payments. You walk into the courtroom to discover that the judge has decorated the walls with pictures of famous baseball players. Unfortunately, this was the scene that greeted attorney Lawrence Stotter when he entered the courtroom of San Mateo County Superior Court Commissioner and baseball fan George Taylor. Stotter was representing Sun Bonds in a financial dispute with her ex — San Francisco Giants all-universe outfielder Barry Bonds. Taylor decided the matter in favor of Barry. But then, while Sun Bonds was still in the courtroom, the jurist asked for and received the ballplayer's autograph. "No big deal," said Barry Bonds' attorney, adding that since his client is a celeb-

rity, everybody wants Barry's autograph. Of course, "everybody" isn't the supposedly-neutral umpire in a courtroom where the celebrity is one of the contestants. Taylor apologized a few days later and the case subsequently was reassigned to another judge.

It's on! You read it here ... probably last, but the debate between Governor Pete Wilson and Treasurer Kathleen Brown has been set ... sort of ... for October 16th. Place: KGO TV in San Francisco. Format: to be determined. Now, for the Michael Huffington-Dianne Feinstein debate. Or, will it be the Arianna Huffington-Dianne Feinstein debate? Or, will it be the Michael Huffington-Richard Blum debate? Or, will it be the Arianna Huffington-Richard Blum debate? Format: Grey Poupon at 12 paces?

New word of the month. Henceforth, whenever a person voluntarily sticks his or her head inside a hornet's nest, the maneuver shall be known as a "Bowler." This coinage is in honor of Assemblyman Larry Bowler's (R-Elk Grove) challenge to Assemblywoman Jackie Speier (D-South San Francisco) on the subject of assault weapons. The exchange took place on the Assembly floor during the session's final days on a bill that sought to extend the current ban on assault weapons to those not covered in the original 1989 ban. During the course of debate, Bowler indicated that Speier was not sufficiently familiar with such weapons, while he, Bowler, had handled many different types of firearms. Speier pointedly reminded Bowler that while she may not have "handled" assault weapons, she had been on the receiving end of one and offered to show Bowler her scars. Speier, of course, was shot repeatedly and nearly killed in 1978 while accompanying her then boss, Congressman Leo Ryan, to Jonestown, Guyana. Ryan was murdered in the attack.

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A Starr is born. California has a new state librarian to replace Gary Strong, who departed recently to accept a job in New York City. The new librarian is Kevin Starr, the best-selling author and USC professor. He'll earn \$83,868 a year. A Democrat, he was appointed by Governor Pete Wilson. Starr's best-known works are "California and the American Dream" and "Inventing the Dream; California through the Progressive Era."

Move over Joe Namath. Senator Charles Calderon (D-Montebello) caused a few of his fellow legislators to double-take on the last day of session when he announced, "I've worn a skirt." He was arguing for passage of his bill that would give female employees the right to wear pants in the workplace. Although Calderon insisted he only wore skirts on Halloween, he added, "They're the most uncomfortable thing I've ever worn. I couldn't keep my legs together and in fact it was a hinderance." He didn't indicate whether he wore nylons as well.

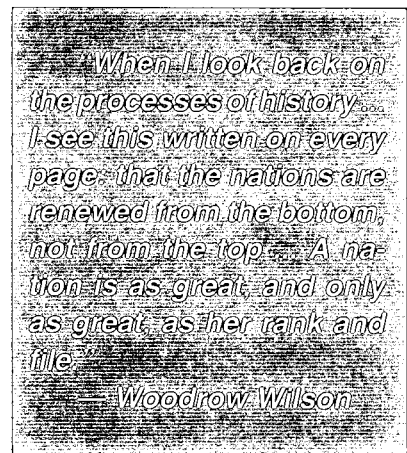
Both sides now. During the heated Senate debate over a bill amended to allow Hollywood Park Racetrack to own a cardroom, the lawmaker most responsible for scuttling the measure was Senator Tom Hayden (D-Santa Monica). Hayden's first salvo warned that the amendments were not germane to the original bill, which dealt with workers' compensation issues at the track. That dispute was resolved when Senate Rules decided the amendments were germane. The key vote in favor of allowing the bill to go forward was cast by the Rules chairman, Bill Lockyer. Back on the floor, Hayden's second salvo alerted colleagues that the Assembly planned to double-join the bill to another that dealt with tourism to guarantee the governor's signature. Hayden said he learned this bit of inside intelligence from a "reliable" source. That was enough for the Senate, which voted down the bill. Source of the critical ammo? Bill Lockyer.

Jobbed bill. Early on the last day of session, Assemblyman Johan Klehs (D-San Leandro) delivered a detailed speech on behalf of a bill exempting Apple Computers from paying certain sales taxes. The measure, Klehs argued, would save 300 jobs. Since the word "jobs" is one of the Legislature's hottest cattle prods, the

bill passed with ease. Later that afternoon, while presenting another proposal, Klehs said, "I gave a speech earlier today on a bill related to Apple Computers. That was the wrong bill. This is the bill that would help keep 300 jobs in California." The previous measure, he assured members, was merely a technical clean-up of tax breaks passed in 1993. The second bill also whipped out of the Assembly, 69-3.

Champeens. Halfway through the 1993-94 legislative session, Assemblyman Bill Hoge (R-Pasadena) had cast more "no" floor votes than any other member, edging out GOP teammate Ray Haynes (R-Murrieta) by a 595-594 margin. Hoge, however, turned up the heat during the second half, defeating Haynes for the two-year crown by a comfortable 1324-1304. Assemblyman David Knowles (R-Cameron Park) was a distant third with 1291. The fewest "no" votes — 50 — were cast by Assembly members Juanita McDonald (D-Carson) and Richard Polanco (D-Los Angeles).

Photo: Then-Assemblyman Ralph Dills, in the California Blue Book, 1942



Come across a blurb lately that's nosy, newsy or smart-alecky about California government, politics or politicians? Share it with the Journal. We pay up to \$25 for entertaining tidbits published in "Up Front." So, rush your items to Up Front, 2101 K Street, Sacramento, CA 95816. Sorry, submissions cannot be returned.



Wilson

In all of the turmoil that has accompanied the 1994 race for governor, Pete Wilson and Kathleen Brown share one dirty little secret. Both the incumbent Republican governor and the Democratic state treasurer trying to unseat him fail a basic test of human sensibility. Each has a defect in his or her judgment so basic as to call into question whether either is a sensible choice to lead the state into the 21st Century.

They both actually want the job.

Sure, being governor carries perks, among them a good salary, generous benefits, a nice office (several, in fact), a large staff and lots of power. All your letters to the editor get printed and you can hire people who bullied you in school and boss them around. On the other hand, the next governor of California carries an awesome, almost crushing burden. He or she must lead a state that has run out of luck, time and easy answers. There is ample reason to question the sense, if not the sanity, of any two people who actually covet such a no-win objective.

While California's ponderous challenges have been decades in the making, much of the pessimism Californians feel about themselves and their state has developed during the decade of the 1990s. That would seem to be a big problem for Peter Barton Wilson, the beleaguered incumbent seeking

The Race

Can Pete Wilson

another four years in office. Certainly Californians are far from enamored with the way he's handled things to date, repeatedly giving him approval ratings among the lowest ever recorded for a state chief executive. And yet, with less than two months to go before election day, Wilson stands at least an even chance of winning, pulling ahead of challenger Kathleen Brown among likely voters in several statewide surveys.

"I've had a strategic role in two campaigns where Pete Wilson beat my candidate," says Democratic political consultant Darry Sragow. "This guy knows how to win elections."

Things looked a whole lot different in the spring of 1993, when Brown held a lead of more than 20 points over Wilson in the statewide Field Poll. California's economy was in the dumper, despite signs of recovery elsewhere, and Wilson was still smarting from the fallout stemming from 1992's 64-day budget stalemate. Brown was riding high, thanks to the "year of the woman" and the family name. "Jerry's brains, and Pat's political savvy" was the tag, a reference to the positive traits of the last two Democratic governors, who are her brother and father, respectively. The national media gushed, brushing off the two white, males that stood in her way — Insurance Commissioner John Garamendi in the Democratic primary, and Wilson in the general.

Brown cleared the first hurdle much as expected. Although he consistently polled better than Brown in head-to-head match-ups against Wilson, Garamendi fell victim to another kind of arithmetic: The kind with dollar signs attached. Brown outspent Garamendi by about three-to-one, having socked away millions in contributions during the heady days of 1993, when she looked like such a shoo-in. Garamendi tried to hit Brown on her most vulnerable political stance, her opposition to capital punishment, and he tried to hit her for being too closely allied to old-line political

For Governor

Is California's "Comeback Kid"?

by Steve Scott

interests. It didn't work. Late-entering state Senator Tom Hayden was supposed to soak liberal votes away from Brown, but when the final vote was tallied, Garamendi lost by about the same margin as he had trailed Brown for almost a full year prior to the election.

While Brown was rolling over the Democratic competition, she was simultaneously losing ground to Wilson. A tentative, front-runner strategy in the primary, coupled with some embarrassing campaign missteps, kept Brown from catching fire even among Democrats. Exit polling conducted by the *Los Angeles Times* after the primary showed nearly a third of Garamendi voters indicating they'd switch to Wilson, most giving as their reason Brown's personal stand against the death penalty. By mid-summer, private surveys, including some conducted by Democrats, showed Brown trailing among the coveted collection of likely voters by anywhere from three to eleven points. A mid-September *Times* poll showed Wilson leading by 9 percent among likely voters — 50 percent to 41 percent — and she had lost ground among crucial swing voters: moderates, independents and the elderly.

"When she had the lead, she took no risks, and didn't establish an identity for herself," said Joel Kotkin, a Los Angeles-based writer who briefly advised Brown's campaign. "She didn't solidify her lead at all, and didn't build support in the political center."

Brown's campaign has been a water-torture of missed opportunities and unrealized expectations. Brown was criticized for being too much under the spell of the technicians handling her campaign, particularly veteran guru Clint Reilly, who spent a lot of time and effort tweaking her message and image. Brown started out accusing Wilson of bad-mouthing the state, then in the spring, joined the chorus by proclaiming California to have "the worst economy in the nation." A



Photos by Rich Pedroncelli

Brown

promise to provide "a million new jobs" was derided for actually low-balling most economic job forecasts. Efforts to neutralize Wilson on the crime issue by attacking his parole policies had mixed success, and even Reilly conceded in late July that Democrats were "uncoalesced" behind the candidate whom they had so recently nominated.

While Brown was stumbling, Wilson was playing to his strength, jamming his fingers down on the hot buttons of crime and immigration. Operating with a single, consistent message — "a tough governor for tough times" — Wilson's campaign has effectively parried most of the Brown camp's thrusts, and those it hasn't parried, it buried. Moreover, it has been successful, so far, in making the race a referendum not on Wilson, the most unpopular governor in the history of modern polling, but on Brown, the unproven challenger.

"They are going to run a nasty, negative campaign because they have to," says veteran Democratic consultant Duane Garrett. "Wilson can't run on his record so he has to make Kathleen the issue."

Explaining Brown's free-fall in the polls in these strategic terms may make for an entertaining bull session among pundits, but it doesn't tell the whole story. Ultimately, a campaign for governor is about two people and their vision for the state. The rest of the nation watches California's descent into uncertainty like fire bugs fascinated with a three-alarm blaze. Based on the conduct of the campaign to this point, the weight of evidence suggests that neither Pete Wilson nor Kathleen Brown have convinced Californians that they know where to point the hoses to put out the fire.

Talk with Brown about "the vision thing" and you hear a lot about Wilson. "I want to be governor because this guy's done such a lousy job," she says. "I don't think he believes governors can make a difference. [He believes] governors stand back on the sidelines and ... tinker with the dials, then whine and complain when things aren't going right, or blame somebody for the problems that we're having." Brown says Wilson's drumbeat of blame, targeting immigrants, the Legislature and the Clinton administration is slick and stupid.

"It's like at home with the kids around the dinner table. You've had a bad day, the kids are driving you crazy, and the dog comes along, and you kick the dog," Brown says. "That is Pete Wilson's strategy for governing ... kick the dog."

When speaking of her personal vision for California, Brown echoes Democratic visions of the past. She recalls the traditions of her father, Pat Brown, under whose leadership, she says, "people took pride in being Californians." She speaks of the "John Muir" tradition of stewardship of resources, and of the husbanding of the state's limited



Brown campaigning

resources, which came from her brother, Jerry. Her view of "the California dream" could be lifted right out of a Bill Clinton campaign speech.

"I see [the California dream] as a promise," she says. "A kind of covenant with the people that if you work hard, and you get a good education, and you pay your taxes, and you use your imagination, you can succeed."

The fact that Brown's own vision seems blurred by the vision of others has generated reams of punditry about her campaign. Check the Brown file of any political reporter and you'll likely find it chock full of ruminations about where to find "the real Kathleen Brown." If Brown suffers from blurred vision, however, then her opponent could just as easily be accused of having double vision.

A conversation with Pete Wilson about the future yields a reasonably convincing,



Wilson with Speaker Willie Brown Jr.

if somewhat long-winded, explanation of the moderate, proactive Republicanism for which he has been identified. "The question isn't whether [California] will change but how it will change," he says. "I'm convinced it not only doesn't have to deteriorate, but it can have a brilliant future." Unlike most Republicans, Wilson doesn't idealize the 1980s. "At the time we had this 'go-go' economy ... we had more teenage girls becoming pregnant and dropping out of high school, and tragically not going back," he recalls. Wilson even argues that his administration's build-up of the criminal justice and corrections systems is, in effect, a logical outgrowth of his oft-stated goal to emphasize prevention over remediation.

"If you think to have a healthy California you have to have

a prosperous California, that means you have to be able to generate the employment base," he says. "You can't get people to keep jobs here, much less bring them, in a neighborhood that is no longer safe."

If Wilson does, indeed, have a "kinder and gentler" side, however, he isn't putting it on display in the campaign. The Wilson on parade before voters is the tough, ex-Marine who gives no quarter to crooks, immigrants and welfare cheats. He insists in interviews that his attack on illegal immigration is directed at Congress, and he has "not blamed the individual immigrants themselves." Yet, it was not members of Congress shown sneaking across the border in the grainy black-and-white video that led a Wilson ad on immigration this spring, a spot over which intoned the ominous words, "They keep coming..."

When discussing his criticism of unfunded federal mandates on immigration and health care, Wilson is careful to explain that "President Clinton did not create this problem, he inherited it." Yet, it is Clinton who is targeted with a letter or, recently, a television ad — attacks conveniently timed to coincide with a dip in the president's approval ratings. Wilson can sound like Clinton himself when he speaks of "ending welfare as we know it." Yet, the centerpiece of his 1992 welfare-reform initiative was a 25 percent benefit cut that even one conservative Republican legislator derided as "not tough, just mean."

When given a choice between blurred vision and double-vision, Californians have historically voted for the candidate who sounded toughest on crime. That history favors Wilson, a staunch death-penalty supporter. Although she vehemently

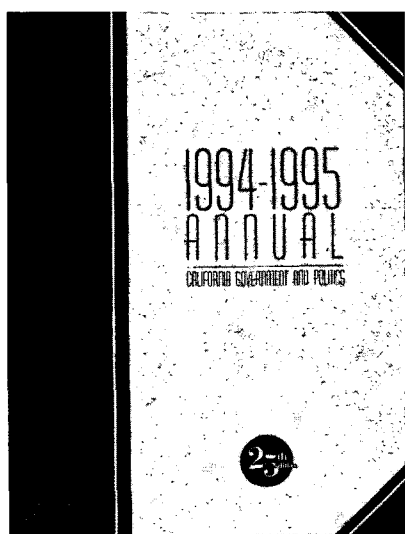
insists she will enforce the death penalty as governor, Brown's personal opposition to capital punishment, by her own admission, "puts me on the wrong side of a hot political issue." Wilson, meanwhile, has successfully exploited the issue, even among Brown's most visible base of support — women voters.

With her support shrinking among moderates and independents, Brown is losing voters she will need to beat Wilson, and the only way to get them back is to find new ones. It is here where Brown must find a message that resonates with the increasingly large mass of eligible voters who have opted out of the system. While she feels a lot of "positive energy" on the campaign trail, that energy hasn't yet translated into waves of new Democratic registrants. "People tell me they hate Wilson, but then they ask 'what's this Kathleen Brown all about?'" said one volunteer working to register new Democrats. "I don't know what to tell them."

To suggest that Wilson is home free, however, is to ignore the broader landscape of the electorate. Californians have made it clear they are far from satisfied with Wilson, telling pollsters he's done little for the economy, education, or really much of anything. Brown's campaign handlers insist they are positioned to tap into that malaise, and a speech at a September fund raiser had the sometimes-skeptical faithful buzzing that she might finally be coming around.

If Brown is able to articulate a reason for Californians to invest their trust in her, Wilson's weakness could carry her over the top. If she can't spell out that vision, then California voters will likely punch their ticket for the incumbent, cross their fingers, and hope for the best. 🏛️

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California Government & Politics ANNUAL 1994-95

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Feinstein vs.

Wealth battles wealth in the race for the U.S. Senate

By Richard Zeiger



Feinstein

Kay Cory of Patterson is the kind of Democrat that worries Dianne Feinstein. A bookkeeper for a 2000-acre farm near this Central Valley town, Cory, who considers herself primarily a homemaker, says she will be voting for Republican Mike Huffington on election day.

It's not so much what Huffington has to say — he had just repeated most of it to about 40 onlookers in Patterson's central plaza — it's that she's "unhappy with Feinstein and her performance."

It turns out that Cory is unhappy about a lot of things that are happening in California: the tide of illegal immigrants, crime that has even intruded on the quiet of Patterson, and the diminished quality of

education. If things get much worse, Cory says, she'll leave the state.

And if you're an unhappy voter, who better to blame than an incumbent politician.

Those who are running the Huffington campaign know this well. Big chunks of the California electorate are unhappy with things in the state and they are looking for someone to blame. The Huffington forces are only too happy to oblige. The one-term congressman has spent a considerable portion of his even more considerable wealth trying to convince voters that Feinstein has failed them on a variety of issues from crime to taxes. Never mind that

Huffington

Huffington, himself, has virtually no record that could demonstrate he would be any improvement. That may not matter.

"Is it possible for him to spend his way into office without ever having to answer any questions? I'm afraid it is," offered Kam Kuwata, Feinstein's campaign manager.

A year ago, Feinstein was considered all but a shoo-in for a full, six-year term in the U.S. Senate. She had won statewide election for the first time in 1992, beating Orange County's John Seymour, who had been appointed to the post by Pete Wilson when Wilson became governor. That was her second run statewide; she lost to Wilson in the 1990 race for governor.

Well known to the state's voters, Feinstein had crafted for herself an image as a moderate, hard-working politician. With the support of the Democrats who control the U. S. Senate, Feinstein made a fast start, winning a seat on the powerful Appropriations Committee, gaining passage of a ban on assault weapons and securing passage of a bill to protect Mojave Desert park land. She was way ahead in the polls.

As a result, her fast start helped drive out a number of better-established Republicans who had been considering the run.

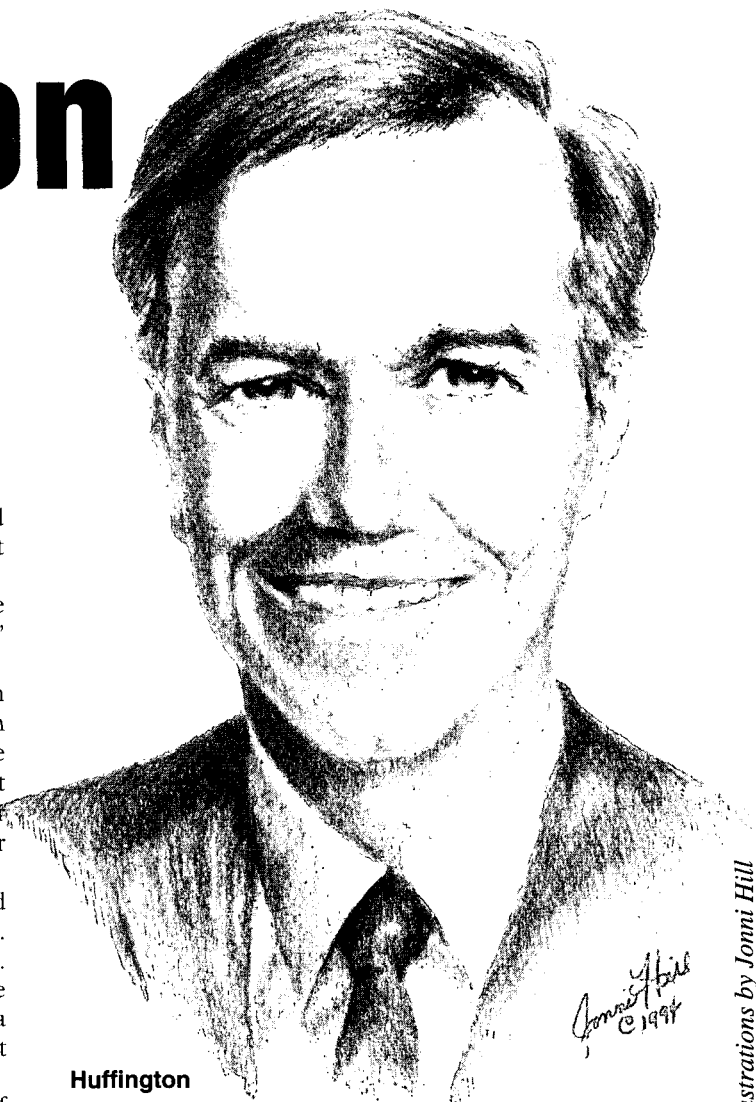
But there was one other factor that kept some prominent Republicans at bay: Huffington. The Santa Barbara congressman, who was also in his first term in Washington, elbowed his way to the front of the GOP line by his willingness to spend his own money to get elected to office.

Until a few years ago, Huffington was a resident of Texas, where his family owned an oil and gas business. Following the sale of the firm in 1990, Huffington the next year moved to Santa Barbara and soon announced that he would challenge long-term Republican incumbent Robert Lagomarsino for Congress. Huffington spend \$5.6 million of his own money and captured the Republican nomination.

In his first 18 months in office, he has been a decidedly non-traditional elected official. He has introduced less than a hand-full of measures, saying he was sent to Washington reduce the size of government, not increase it. Beyond that he has even spurned most forms of constituent involvement — including helping businesses from his own district — a practice he says amounts to catering to special interests.

But in truth, he's spent much of his only term running for the U.S. Senate.

In the primary, he brushed aside former Congressman William Dannemeyer from Orange County and first-timer



Huffington

Illustrations by Jonni Hill

Kate Squires. In fact, many of his early campaign commercials were aimed at Feinstein. Although Feinstein on occasion was able to respond, Huffington has been able — using more than \$10 million of own money through early September — to swamp the airwaves with his commercials and to respond each time Feinstein tries a new tack.

Despite his presence on television, Huffington remains an enigma to much of the public and even to the political press that is trying to cover his campaign. He was initially perceived as something of moderate — a stance that was enhanced by his campaign against the very conservative Dannemeyer — because of his pro-abortion rights position, support of allowing gays to serve in the military and his opposition to off-shore oil drilling. But since beginning his campaign, his themes have been more populist and more conservative. Since the primary, he's shortened his first name from Michael to the more familiar Mike. He pushes his status as an outsider, turning Feinstein's long years in public service into a liability. He calls himself a successful businessman who now wants to turn his attention to public service.

But a scathing *Wall Street Journal* story concluded that Huffington had a "mixed record at the family company" and quoted business associates who considered him an "intelligent but undirected 'silver-spoon kid' riding his father's

success, a devotee of self-improvement books who dabbled restlessly in many pursuits without notable accomplishment in any of them.”

Despite his vast fortune, Huffington has told those at campaign appearances that he is “just like you” and has pointed out that he donates his congressional salary to charity and refuses to travel at taxpayer expense. At the same time, he refuses to make public his tax returns, a practice that has become common for elected officials, and then lambastes Feinstein because there were years when business reverses resulted in her paying no federal taxes at all, information that became available because Feinstein did make her returns public.

Huffington’s pro-environment posture — a position popular in coastal Santa Barbara — has apparently become more conservative as he campaigned through the Central Valley. It’s true, he opposed off-shore oil drilling, but only, he says, so that resource can be available at some time in the future, say 100 years from now. And he now chastises Feinstein for her support of Big Green, although he was once on the board of one of the initiative’s sponsors. He is also campaigning for changes in the federal endangered species act, which he says hampers farming and development in the state. His most significant policy proposal to date has been the elimination of the government supported welfare system, which he says has not only failed but has morally corrupted those who receive aid. Better to let the private sector take over this effort with the government’s role being reduced to providing block grants to local governments that can then be given to private agencies. The welfare system, says Huffington, quoting from research by the Heritage Foundation, a conservative think tank in Washington, has consumed more than \$5 trillion in the past 30 years without any success.

Huffington, however, in his campaign rhetoric fails to mention that nearly half of that money goes to medical aid for the poor, a program that, according to campaign spokeswoman Jennifer Grossman, Huffington does not plan to curtail. Indeed Huffington’s dislike of welfare seems not to come from traditional conservative or even Libertarian roots. Grossman insists, for example, that saving the taxpayers’ money is not Huffington’s motive for seeking an end to welfare. Instead, it is apparently part of a plan to improve the moral quality of the country. In Huffington’s first television commercial, he promoted the “Book of Virtues,” by former education secretary William Bennett. His wife, the writer Arianna Stassinopolis Huffington, has recently produced a book called “The Fourth Impulse,” which argues that need to take care of one another — charity — is the fourth basic human impulse after survival, power and sex.

The Huffingtons argue that public welfare robs the recipient of dignity and is not effective. Turning these efforts to the private sector not only allows charity to be delivered in a more humane and effective way, but gives those who are well-off the opportunity to improve the spiritual quality of their lives by acting on their “fourth impulse” through private giving and more importantly, actively participating in programs for the needy.

Feinstein campaign manager Kuwata argues that the spiritual nature of the Huffingtons is something the professionals running the campaign would just as soon ignore. Indeed, Kuwata argues that there are at least three sides to

the Huffington campaign. The first is the one run by the professionals (Huffington has hired just about every loose Republican consultant available for the effort, including advisers Ken Khachigian, Lyn Nofziger, and consultant Ed Rollins, who now has charge of the day-to-day campaign activities), the second is the spiritual side that reflects his wife’s interests, and the third is the erratic nature of the candidate himself. This latter trait emerged, Kuwata argues, when Huffington, apparently unbeknownst to his campaign handlers, showed up outside a Feinstein fund-raising event in Washington in an effort to confront his opponent.

“As long as the professionals are in control ... things go smoothly. But when he’s in charge, anything can happen,” said Kuwata.

The notion that there are separate campaign elements is derided by Khachigian. “Decisions get made in a community manner, but at the end of the day, there’s only one guy on the ballot and he’s not afraid of making a decision. I don’t think we’ve ever really been off track. After all the ingredients are in, you create a souffle. Every so often, it falls.”

Furthermore, Khachigian says he does not worry that the spiritual roots of Huffington’s politics will worry voters—despite efforts by Feinstein to plant such roots. “There are a lot of things I worry about, but that’s not one of them,” he said.

Kuwata, though, believes that the untested Huffington is capable of making mistakes before Election Day, if he ever actually engages in the rough and tumble of the campaign.

So far, though, Huffington has avoided such problems. For one thing, he stays as far from political reporters as possible. For much of the primary he declined to give reporters his campaign schedule, so any contact with the candidate was difficult. Since the primary, he has held one general press availability, following a speech in Sacramento. It lasted about six minutes.

Although campaign schedules are now, on occasion, available, the events, such as his tour of a vegetable process plant in Patterson followed by 10 minutes of citizen questions in the plaza, create no opportunities for detailed questioning. He does, occasionally, talk to newspaper editorial boards, but he has not been available for individual interviews for months. Yet, he has criticized Feinstein for refusing to sit down face-to-face with him to discuss debate prospects. Kuwata says the comments are a pose designed to avoid real discussions about debates.

Khachigian says that Huffington has been available, if not always in the manner reporters would prefer. In fact, he says it is Feinstein who is running a “Rose Curtain” campaign. “When was the last time she did an hour on a radio show?” he asks.

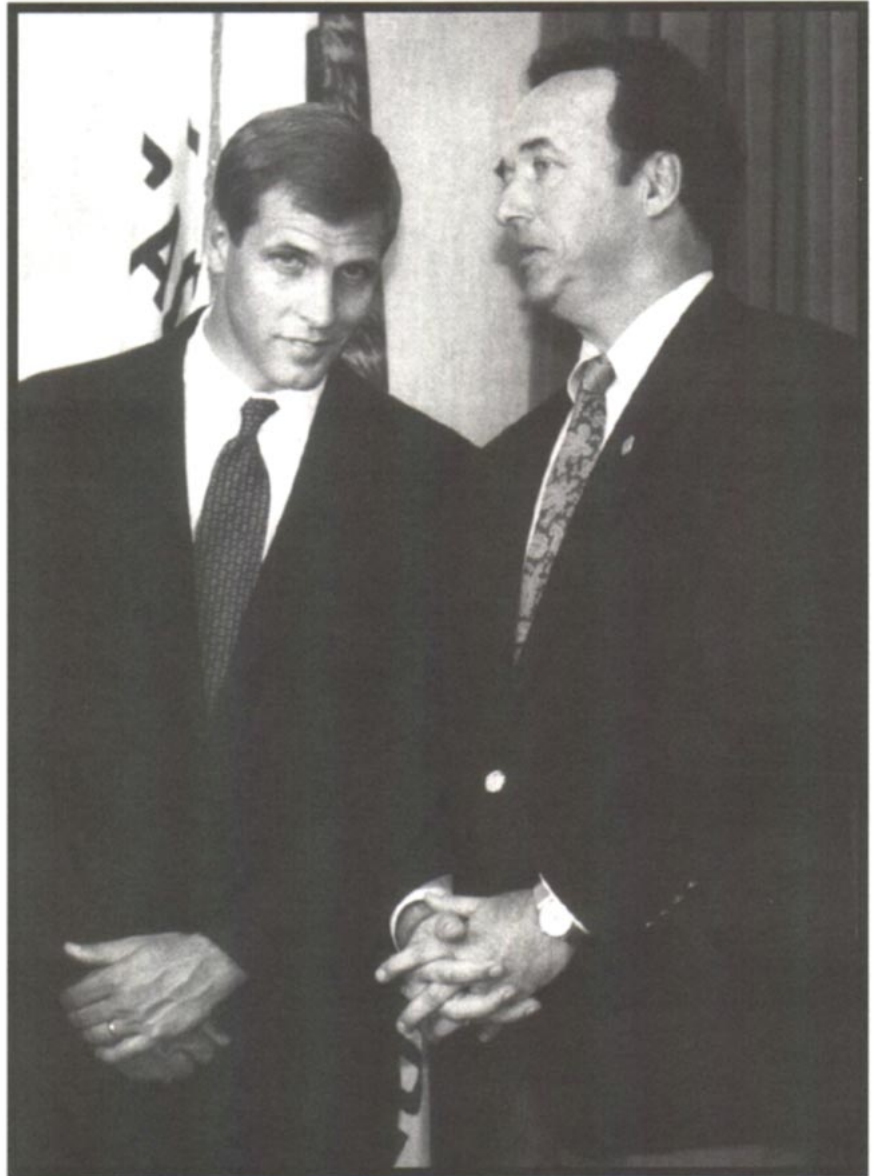
Khachigian says it is Feinstein who wants to avoid close scrutiny. “She doesn’t want to discuss a lot of these things because she knows that her positions on a lot of things are not very popular with the voters of this state.”

Whether Huffington or Feinstein wants to debate, or not, may turn out to be an irrelevant question. Huffington clearly is prepared to run a campaign that doesn’t rely on debates or speeches, contact with the press or even contact with the voters — except through television. He has the money to spend to reach voters with whatever message he chooses as often as he likes. If that’s enough to win elective office, Huffington will be senator-elect on November 8th. 🏠

The Race for Attorney General

**Two
distinctly
different
attorneys
see
themselves
as
“top cop”**

By Nancy H. Martis



Umberg and Lungren

Photos by Rich Pedroncelli

They both have brilliant blue eyes. That's about all Republican Attorney General Dan Lungren and his Democratic opponent, Assemblyman Tom Umberg (D-Garden Grove), seem to have in common. Indeed, the ideologic visions held by these candidates for the office of attorney general clash with remarkable force. The Republican, who gained conservative kudos while serving in Congress from 1979-1989, helped form the Conservative Opportunity Society — a group of House Republicans dedicated to saving “moral values,” among other vague agendas. The Democrat, who publicizes the fact that he is “100 percent pro-choice,” wants to net enough female voters to oust the incumbent Lungren, narrowly elected over San Francisco District Attorney Arlo Smith four years ago.

Dubbed a bright up-and-comer in the mid 1980s, Lungren has been eyed by Republicans and suspected by Democrats as a potential gubernatorial hopeful. He was former Governor George Deukmejian's nominee to serve as state treasurer after the death of Jesse Unruh in 1987,



Umberg

but was denied the appointment by the Legislature's Democratic leadership. Of late he has enjoyed little spotlight in a job with vast responsibility where publicity is yours to make. This lack of "ink" clearly bothers Lungren, who recently complained that the reason a July Field Poll reported his favorable-image rating was just 40 percent is a reflection of what some have called a "media love affair" prior to the June primary with Democratic gubernatorial hopefuls Kathleen Brown and John Garamendi. Lungren, a bit aloof — maybe shy — and noticeably defensive, is irritated with the press, saying Insurance Commissioner John Garamendi could "burp in Los Angeles and get a color photo on A3 of the *[Los Angeles Times]*." He complains about press accounts of a congressional field hearing in Los Angeles late last year where he and Kathleen Brown offered testimony on the issue of illegal immigration, one of his signature issues during his 10-year tenure in the House. He shakes his head over the *Los Angeles Times* report, saying, "They didn't even mention I was there."

Lungren seems almost preoccupied with the press, what's written about him, and sometimes, what's not. In fact, Lungren is altogether irked with pollsters who say he has more work to do in the race despite the fact that he leads opponent Umberg by a 10-point margin when voters are asked for their preferences between the two. "Excuse me, but I always thought the person behind by 15 points has more work to do," he said. Referring to the *San Francisco Chronicle's* characterization of the lead as "unimpressive," Lungren cracked, "You tell them I am praying for an unimpressive 15 margin of victory on Election Day."

But Lungren doesn't have the corner on the preoccupation market. Umberg, amicable to the point of being smooth, seems to limit his fascination to his opponent. Lungren had criticized an Umberg fund-raising mailer that depicted the

assemblyman standing on the beach in a wetsuit, surfboard in hand. He cynically cited a local weekly newspaper that claimed Umberg's never been on a surfboard. Umberg burst into laughter about Lungren's acknowledgement of the piece, saying, "I'm not ready for the pro-surfer circuit," but he has a scar from a surfing outing to prove he's at least been on a board. Then, after some contemplation, he asks with earnest curiosity, "Was he [Lungren] laughing when he said that?"

While plainly curious of one another and anxious to boost their respective name recognition, neither candidate can say he is a household name. Umberg, a former assistant U.S. attorney, has for the past few years toiled in the obscurity of Sacramento politics in the Assembly, and has spent this year trying to get the word out about his anti-crime accomplishments on a more statewide level. He's offering up prayers of his own, along with a little targeted campaigning, which he hopes will sway Republican-leaning districts his way. Until the Labor Day weekend, his campaign was under the direction of Demo-

cratic political guru Clint Reilly, who also was managing the Kathleen Brown campaign. But Umberg switched to political consultant Richie Ross after Reilly admitted that managing two fulltime-plus campaigns "made it increasingly difficult for me to devote the time and attention Tom Umberg deserves." The switch, Democrats say, indicates that their party is making a very serious go at an office they think they can win since Reilly won't have to divide his attention. Republicans say it was probably campaign disarray under Reilly, but Ross says: "Clint was and is enormously busy with the Brown race. That's it."

Although it leans Lungren's way, the contest for attorney general could be tight — and potentially muddy — down to the wire. Both candidates were unopposed in the primary, and each received about 1.6 million each. Arlo Smith, who had planned to seek a rematch with Lungren, pulled himself out of the running early this year, saying a contested primary would only damage the chances of either Democrat beating the incumbent. It is said, however, that Smith pulled out when the Sierra Club indicated it would back Umberg, robbing Smith of the attempt to portray Umberg as anti-environmentalist.

Lungren campaign consultant Ken Khachigian says that his candidate has the clear advantage this election with the ballot designation of "attorney general" after his name. Lungren adds that because he was out of office at the time he ran against Smith, the attorney general's narrow victory in '90 can be attributed to his then ballot designation of "attorney."

With crime very much on the minds of voters, Lungren, 49, is drawing from his accomplishments at the federal level where, as a congressman, he helped push the 1984 Comprehensive Crime Control Act through the House, as well as the 1986 immigration reform bill. As the ranking Republican on

immigration issues, he had served on the Immigration and Refugee Subcommittee for eight years. Umberg, 39, is touting his career in the U.S. Army, where he worked as a prosecutor, then went on to work as assistant United States attorney. He points to his two terms in the Legislature, during which he authored laws increasing penalties for rape, increasing penalties for hate crimes and speeding up of criminal hearings for juvenile offenders. He serves as chairman of the Assembly Toxics and Safety Committee, as well as on the education, transportation and public safety committees. Of his record, Umberg says, "Lungren will say he as a Republican is toughest on crime, but I've been a prosecutor, he has not." Umberg, who is currently in the Army Reserve with a Special Forces unit in Fort Bragg, adds, "We have to establish those credentials so people understand this is not the typical Democrat one encounters."

In some ways, the two lawyers with a penchant for politics are vaguely similar. Both support community-based policing, the death penalty and employer sanctions for employing illegal immigrants. But Umberg opposes the controversial illegal immigration initiative on the November ballot, Proposition 187, which would cut illegal immigrants off from public social and health services. As of late September, Lungren had yet to take a position on the measure whose enforcement would fall largely within the attorney general's purview.

Yet another similarity between the two is that they are both from the conservative Orange County. As a moderate Democrat, Umberg has a chance to peel off those cross-over voters who simply aren't comfortable with Republican candidates they view as too far to the right. "He is much more of a Feinstein-type of Democrat," says Ross, referring to an Umberg voting record that didn't always follow party lines. "Tom will probably lead the Democratic ticket" in terms of vote-getting throughout the state compared to the other Democratic candidates, Ross says.

Trying to parlay any kind of hometown appeal into something tangible early on, Umberg loudly touted his receipt of the Long Beach police officers' endorsement. It was a bit of a slap in the face to Lungren since the group had endorsed him in 1990. Still, while each candidate can point to a number of law-enforcement endorsements, Lungren is the candidate of choice among those who wear badges. In August, the much bally-hoed Peace Officers Research Association of California endorsement of Lungren was a blow to Umberg; the group's gubernatorial nod went to fellow Democrat Brown. Predictably, both candidates point to their respective law-enforcement support, which will tend to neutralize that support as a campaign advantage.

If the waters become muddied anywhere, it is in the realm of special interests. Umberg has received a couple of bucketfuls of money from the California Trial Lawyers Association, a heavy contributor to Democratic races and one of the reasons pro-civil liability reformers claim reform propos-



Lungren

als have been consistently blocked in the Legislature and from the initiative process. Umberg says he "isn't a 100-percenter with the trial lawyers." For Lungren, some bad press surrounding a Bank of America request appeared like a sore bunion in August, bad timing when you're running for office. At the behest of the bank, he had requested that the state Supreme Court do away with a requirement that businesses clearly identify a contract clause that forces consumers to agree to binding arbitration when they sign a contract. The bank is a Lungren campaign contributor. Although criticized for compromising the responsibilities of his office, the attorney general maintained his move was entirely legal and in the interest of Californians.

Voters will have the chance to see the two candidates debate; their respective camps are scheduling joint media appearances up and down the state.

Whoever Californians decide should serve as the state's top cop, it is evident both candidates recognize the challenges of the post with 4000 employees and the opportunities within a job with so many arms. In reminiscing over the denied appointment to state treasurer, Lungren said: "What's it like being attorney general for four years instead of being treasurer? It's a much more enjoyable job, a much more important job from a substantive standpoint ... because of its breadth. I have the power to represent the people of the state of California in my own name, to protect the environment, to protect them from consumer fraud."

Umberg, who said he wanted to be a prosecuting attorney since the eighth grade, enthusiastically acknowledges the office's strong suits. "If I could be pointed at any job ... I'd ask you to point me to attorney general. It's a great job. It's just a great job."

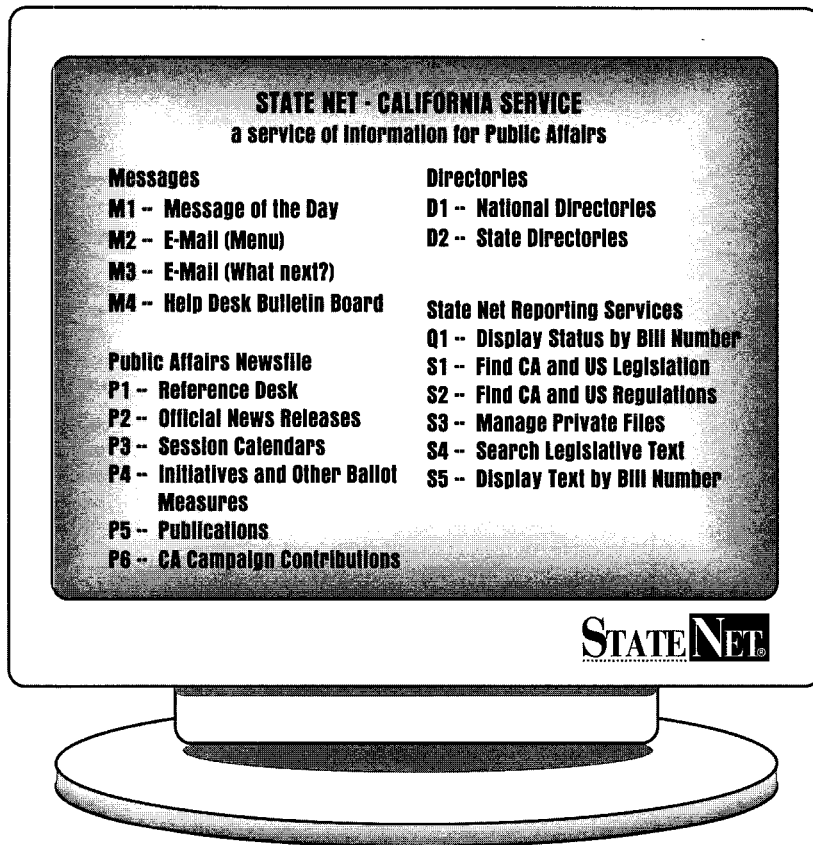
So, once the political blinders are removed, those blue eyes do see some things similarly after all. 🏠

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DISTRICT-BY-DISTRICT ANALYSIS

Congress

DISTRICT 1 (52% D - 33% R) —
Democrat: Incumbent Dan Hamburg of Ukiah. Republican: Frank Riggs of Windsor.

This usually Democratic territory went Republican in 1990, thanks to the defection of a large number of Democrats to a Peace and Freedom Party candidate. The beneficiary of this was Riggs, who beat then-incumbent Doug Bosco. Riggs, in turn, was defeated by Hamburg in 1992. Meanwhile, Bosco and Hamburg squared off in the 1994 Democratic primary, which Hamburg easily won. Now, Riggs and Hamburg will stage a rematch of their 1992 race. As if all this isn't confusing enough, the area's political landscape is fractured between environmentalists and those who depend on the timber and fishing industries. Environmentalists are strong along the north coast, while the timber folks tend to live south and inland. As a result, congressional elections tend to devolve around traditional district themes. Riggs has painted Hamburg as an ultra-liberal environmentalist, while Hamburg has countered that Riggs while in Congress inappropriately spent money on mailings at taxpayers' expense. Hamburg would seem to have the upper hand, given that Riggs' key ally from 1990 — the P&F — is nowhere to be found. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 2 (43% D - 42% R) —
Democrat: Mary Jacobs of Greenview. Republican: Incumbent Wally Herger of Marysville.

Incumbent Herger has the conser-

vative inlanders on his side in this district, although challenger Jacobs managed to make a good show of it in the primary. Still, four-term Herger should have no problem. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 3 (48% D - 39% R) —
Democrat: Incumbent Vic Fazio of Woodland. Republican: Tim LeFever of Dixon.

Republicans will have to pour some money into this race if they want to trip up Fazio, the powerful fifth-ranking member of Congress. But Fazio will have to watch his step for any land mines Republicans might plant. An influx of money from the National Republican Congressional Committee into challenger Tim LeFever could divert Fazio's attention, as it did two years ago when his opponent was former state Senator H.L. Richardson. Back then, Fazio was forced to spend \$1.7 million to keep the seat he's had for eight terms. LeFever is a very conservative 33-year-old attorney and former aide to ex-Lieutenant Governor Mike Curb. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 4 (41% D - 46% R) —
Democrat: Katie Hirning of Roseville. Republican: Incumbent John Doolittle of Orangevale.

If nothing else, Hirning has to be admired for attempting to upset ultra-conservative incumbent Doolittle in this strongly Republican district. But Hirning will need some serious PAC contributions to pull it off, and unlike Doolittle's previous two-time challenger Patricia

Malberg, she'll take them. Looking to capture the independents, Doolittle made nice-nice with Ross Perot supporters living in his district following the 1992 election, probably hoping to get his hands on mailing lists. This district should be safe for Doolittle, barring any significant help Hirning might get from the Democrats. But as the campaign heats up, there are indications that some Republican support is behind Hirning: Hewlett Packard switched its support to the Democrat, and some Sacramento-area Republicans are holding house parties for Hirning. LEANS REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 5 (58% D - 31% R) —
Democrat: Incumbent Robert Matsui. Republican: Robert Dinsmore. Both of Sacramento.

Republican Dinsmore is trying again. And again, it's Matsui by several lengths. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 6 (55% D - 30% R) —
Democrat: Incumbent Lynn Woolsey of Petaluma. Republican: Michael Nugent of Sonoma. Libertarian: Louis Beary of Penngrove. Peace and Freedom: Ernest Jones of Santa Rosa.

Woolsey, a former welfare mother, became an interesting success story in 1992 when she beat then-Assemblyman Bill Filante, who was dying of cancer at the time. Nugent, a mortgage broker and winemaker, is trying to deny her a second term by playing up his moderate views. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 7 (62% D - 24% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent George Miller of Pleasant Hill. Republican: Charles Hughes of Richmond. Peace and Freedom: Bill Callison of Concord.

Miller has represented this area for 20 years, and Hughes, a retired businessman, won't prevent him from another term. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 8 (65% D - 15% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent Nancy Pelosi. Republican: Elsa Cheung. Both of San Francisco.

Pelosi has advantages that are hard to beat. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 9 (69% D - 14% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent Ron Dellums. Republican: Deborah Wright. Peace and Freedom: Emma Mar. All of Oakland.

Dellums, who has held this seat since 1970 and now chairs the House Armed Services Committee, will cruise in November. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 10 (43% D - 44% R) —

Democrat: Ellen Schwartz of Walnut Creek. Republican: Incumbent Bill Baker of Walnut Creek. Peace and Freedom: Craig Cooper of Concord.

On paper, this district looks relatively safe for a Republican; in fact, Democratic registration has lost a point to the Republicans since the last election. But incumbent Baker has an unusual challenge this year. In the past three races — two for the Assembly and one for Congress — he has successfully fended off a challenge from consultant Wendell Williams, whose candidacies were personal crusades against Baker. This time, he's up against Schwartz, a successful businesswoman who's backed by labor and women's groups. Schwartz's camp expects to spend \$500,000 on the campaign, and although the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee hasn't committed yet, this could be a targeted race. When Baker last ran against a woman, back in his Assembly days, he publicly commented that she could not understand budget issues because of her gender. Schwartz isn't about to let the voters forget that remark. LEANS REPUBLICAN



DISTRICT 11 (49% D - 40% R) —

Democrat: Randy Perry. Republican: Incumbent Richard Pombo. Both of Stockton.

Incumbent Pombo's anti-gun control voting record could bite him in the



Pombo



Perry

ballot box, especially at a time when crime registers as the number-one concern among voters. This district, after all, was the scene of the Stockton schoolyard massacre a few years ago. And Pombo's challenger, Democrat Perry, won't make it easy on him; as a lobbyist for the state's largest peace officers' association, he has the law-enforcement community in his corner. That alone makes him more formidable than Pombo's 1992 opponent — Patti Garamendi. Perry's campaign is trying to capitalize on the fact that Pombo consistently voted against the compromise Omnibus Crime Control Act passed by Congress in late August. But Pombo, a rancher and former Tracy councilman, has deep roots as a fourth-generation resident of the San Joaquin Valley and proved to be a good investment for Republican money in 1992. Perry began running a small debt early on, something wealthy Pombo doesn't have to worry about. TOSSUP

DISTRICT 12 (56% D - 28% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent Tom Lantos of San Mateo. Republican: Deborah Wilder of Foster City.

Lantos has an easy ride. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 13 (58% D - 27% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent Pete Stark of Hayward. Republican: Larry Molton of Fremont. Libertarian: Bob Gough of Milpitas.

Stark has been Congress' biggest proponent of a single-payer health plan, and he's been all over the media as a result. Not that he needed the publicity. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 14 (48% D - 36% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent Anna Eshoo. Republican: Ben Brink. Both of Palo Alto.

People expected Eshoo to win this seat in 1992 but nobody expected her to win it so handily against a solid GOP candidate — San Mateo County Supervisor Tom Huening. Eshoo thus be-

came the first Democrat to represent this area after a series of moderate to liberal Republicans such as Pete McCloskey, Ed Zschau and Tom Campbell. On paper, her 1994 opponent — Brink — would not seem to have the same credentials as did Huening. But Brink has launched an impressive campaign which includes two separate staffs — one for the regular office and one for a campaign on the Internet. Brink is looking to spend \$500,000 on the race, which makes him a serious threat. Eshoo, of course, will have all the help she needs from the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 15 (46% D - 38% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent Norm Mineta of San Jose. Republican: Robert Wick of Santa Clara.

Republicans can apply when Mineta retires. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 16 (55% D - 29% R) —

Democrat: Zoe Lofgren. Republican: Lyle Smith. Both of San Jose.

Lofgren already beat the odds by beating former San Jose Mayor Tom McEnery in the primary. The real race is over. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 17 (53% D - 31% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent Sam Farr of Carmel. Republican: Bill McCampbell of Monterey. Green: Craig Coffin of Pacific Grove.

McCampbell already lost to Farr once, in last year's special election to replace Leon Panetta, who now is White House chief of staff. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 18 (52% D - 37% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent Gary Condit of Modesto. Republican: Tom Carter of Modesto. Libertarian: James Morzella of Ceres.

Condit hasn't had a tough race — for Assembly or for Congress — ever. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 19 (46% D - 43% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent Rick Lehman of North Fork. Republican: George Radanovich of Fresno.

It's been a tough couple of races for five-term incumbent Lehman, who has had to put his fund-raising skills to work. Republican Radanovich may have a tougher time building his coffers outside of his own resources, since Fresno Assemblyman Bill Jones is ahead



Lehman



Radanovich

in the local Republican bread line, gathering in nickels in his bid to be secretary of state. Lehman's long tenure representing the district may pay off, though, especially since he has been attentive to agricultural interests in an area known for loyalty. Radanovich, a vintner and Mariposa County supervisor, may have a hard time with name recognition despite his elected official status in Mariposa, a tiny piece of this largely Fresno County district. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 20 (58% D - 32% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent Cal Dooley of Visalia. Republican: Paul Young of Wasco.

District voters like incumbent Dooley and will send him back for a third term. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 21 (40% D - 48% R) —

Democrat: John Evans of Bakersfield. Republican: Incumbent Bill Thomas of Bakersfield.

Now that his usual rough-and-tumble primary is behind him, eight-term incumbent Thomas can relax. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 22 (43% D - 41% R) —

Democrat: Walter Capps of Santa Barbara. Republican: Andrea Seastrand of San Luis Obispo. Libertarian: David Bersohn of Arroyo Grande.



Seastrand



Capps

Capps already has managed one upset this year — his victory over former congressional aide Marty Stone in the June primary. To get to Congress, however, Capps, a prolific author and

U.C. religion professor, must topple Seastrand. Well-known in Santa Barbara, Capps says he wants to bring a more meditative style to politics, calling upon his theological background that includes time spent living with monks. He says that if elected, he would apply a humanistic understanding to government and try to keep things in a positive light. Seastrand, on the other hand, has advantages steeped in real politick: She represents a chunk of the district in the Assembly, currently has more financial support, and a conservative political temperament that better fits the district's right-of-center mood. Meanwhile, Capps had a September fund raiser featuring none other than Hillary Rodham Clinton. And word from Washington, D.C., indicates that he also will get strong backing from congressional Democrats, through the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee (DCCC). The DCCC is very high on Capps, said a spokesperson, and probably will back him to the hilt. If the DCCC drops behind Capps with both feet, it could make this race very competitive. LEANS REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 23 (44% D - 41% R) —

Democrat: Kevin Ready of Ventura. Republican: Incumbent Elton Gallegly of Simi Valley. Libertarian: Bill Brown of Camarillo. Green: Robert T. Marston of Simi Valley.

If the Democrats couldn't take out Gallegly two years ago, with Clinton riding high and a woman running in "the year of the woman," they likely won't do much better with another male running against Gallegly and Clinton having trouble. Gallegly has effectively used the immigration issue, and though Ready boasted some help from D.C. Democrats early on, most of the real money is likely to go elsewhere. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 24 (46% D - 39% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent Anthony Beilenson of Woodland Hills. Republican: Richard Sybert of Woodland Hills. Libertarian: John Koebler of Oak Park.

Conventional political wisdom suggests that, for an incumbent running in a newly reapportioned district, the crucial election is the second one. Few would vouch more for that wisdom than Tony Beilenson. The liberal incumbent was targeted by the national GOP two years ago when he drew the short straw and had to move from a



Beilenson



Sybert

relatively safe Democratic district to one which, on paper, leans Republican. Beilenson lucked out in drawing arch-conservative Tom McClintock as his challenger, but even so Beilenson had to run aggressively. Since his election, he's been no stranger to the district, and has taken a popular hard line against illegal immigration. Still, his opponent this time is no McClintock. Sybert is a veteran GOP loyalist whose most recent job was as director of Governor Pete Wilson's Office of Planning and Research. A man with money and the willingness to spend it, Sybert had already dropped more than \$1 million into the race by mid-summer, spending most of the primary looking past his underfunded opponents toward the fall campaign. Unable to flank Beilenson on illegal immigration, Sybert has decided to attack legal immigration as well, and is also assailing Beilenson for his vote in support of the Clinton budget. Sybert is considered one of the top challengers in the nation, while Beilenson is at or near the top of the Democrats' list of vulnerable incumbents. Whatever Sybert can't provide himself moneywise will be made up by the national party, while Beilenson, who doesn't accept PAC money, will have to make do with individual contributions and help from the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee. Two tenacious candidates, one tough race. TOSSUP

DISTRICT 25 (38% D - 48% R) —

Democrat: James Gilmartin of Santa Clarita. Republican: Incumbent Howard "Buck" McKeon of Santa Clarita. Libertarian: Devin Cutler of Canoga Park.

McKeon has shown promise among the freshman class, and as such scared off competition in a district that saw a blistering GOP primary two years ago. McKeon only got 52 percent of the vote against Gilmartin in the general, but 1992 was a good year for Democrats. This year, McKeon should have an easier time. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 26 (60% D - 27% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent Howard Berman of Panorama City. Republican: Gary Forsch of Sun Valley. Libertarian: Erich Miller of Reseda.

The vaunted Berman/Waxman political machine took a few more body blows in state legislative races this year, but it's still at least capable of protecting Berman and (Congressman Henry) Waxman. Berman doesn't represent his old Hollywood constituency anymore, but he's still in prime Democratic country. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 27 (44% D - 43% R) —

Democrat: Doug Kahn of Altadena. Republican: Incumbent Carlos Moorhead of Glendale. American Independent: Bill Gibbs of Glendale. Libertarian: Dennis Descherd of Rosemead.

You'd think a district that is this close in registration would be comfortable territory for an 11-term Republican lawmaker. Two years ago, however, Moorhead won only 50 percent of the vote against computer typographer Doug Kahn. Moreover, nearly 9 percent of the vote went to Green and Peace and Freedom candidates. Kahn has been running ever since, and has proven to be a reasonably capable fund-raiser. Moorhead is one of the House's more conservative members, but doesn't seem to be in the confrontational mold of the Newt Gingrichs of the world. His senior position also means lots of access to campaign resources, and he entered the summer drive with more than \$400,000 in the bank. With competitive Assembly races taking place within the district's confines, both parties are mounting aggressive ground efforts, and the race will be won there, as well as in the mailboxes of residents. The district went for Clinton in 1992, but Republicans insist they will benefit from Clinton's weakness this time out. Still, there are no Greens or Peace and Freedoms to soak votes away from Kahn, and there is at least as much antipathy toward longterm incumbents of any stripe as there is toward Clinton. Registration and incumbency still give the edge to Moorhead, but the Democrats in Washington will likely not hesitate if they see an opening. LEANS REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 28 (41% D - 46% R) —

Democrat: Tommy Randle of San Dimas. Republican: Incumbent David Dreier of Covina. Libertarian: Jorj Clayton Baker of Pasadena.

Dreier's district is as Republican as

any in the state, and he'll barely break a sweat this time out. Dreier, however, is ready for anything, as he continues to sit on the House's second-largest campaign war chest — in excess of \$2 million. Since he passed on a run for the open Senate seats two years ago, he must be cautious, since he can't take it with him when he leaves the House. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 29 (58% D - 27% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent Henry Waxman. Republican: Paul Stepanek. Libertarian: Michael Binkley. Peace and Freedom: Nancy Lawrence. All of Los Angeles.

If there's one area where the Berman/Waxman image still endures, it's in this affluent Beverly Hills, Santa Monica district. Waxman has backed away from the political side of the business, focusing most of his energies on health care and smoking issues. No worries on the re-election front. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 30 (61% D - 23% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent Xavier Becerra. Republican: David Ramirez. Libertarian: R. William Weilburg. All of Los Angeles.

Becerra has everything an up-and-coming pol could want: Youth, good looks, a safe district, and luck. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 31 (59% D - 27% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent Matthew "Marty" Martinez of Alhambra. Republican: John Flores of Commerce.

Martinez had his usual round of primary challengers, but since there always seem to be more than one Democrat interested in challenging him, the resistance usually crumbles in the end. Having weathered a barrage of attacks in the primary, Martinez will make short work of Flores in the fall. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 32 (76% D - 13% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent Julian Dixon. Republican: Ernie Farbat. Peace and Freedom: John Honigsfeld. All of Los Angeles.

Dixon drew unusual, but token primary opposition and faces only slightly more of a challenge in the fall. His first foray into the role of kingmaker didn't turn out so well, however, as campaign aide Ed Johnson lost his race for the Assembly earlier this year. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 33 (66% D - 20% R) —

Democrats: Incumbent Lucille Roybal-Allard of Los Angeles. Peace and Freedom: Kermit Booker of Long Beach.

Roybal-Allard drew no GOP opposition this year, and easily bested a relatively weak primary challenge. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 34 (61% D - 28% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent Esteban Torres of Industry. Republican: Albert Nunez of Brea. Libertarian: Carl Swinney of Whittier.

Another San Gabriel Valley district drawn with Democrats and Latinos in mind. Torres returns without a struggle. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 35 (79% D - 11% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent Maxine Waters. Republican: Nate Truman. Both of Los Angeles.

The combative Waters will be back in Speaker Tom Foley's face after disposing of Truman, one of about six Republicans in the district. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

🔥 DISTRICT 36 (43% D - 42% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent Jane Harman of Los Angeles. Republican: Susan Brooks of Torrance. American Independent: Joseph Fields of San Pedro. Libertarian: Jack Tyler of Redondo Beach.



Harman



Brooks

Republicans hate the fact that Democratic incumbent Harman holds this seat. Even more galling is the centerpiece — and seemingly successful centerpiece — of her campaign, a growing list of "Republicans for Harman." Harman spent oodles of her own money in 1992, and had the advantage of an opponent whose opposition to abortion rights didn't sit well in the moderate, independent-minded district. Since her election, Harman has continued along the centrist path and is now wooing South Bay industrialists and politicians with business-friendly and moderate defense-conversion policies

for the area. While Brooks doesn't carry the anti-abortion baggage of her '92 predecessor, that doesn't mean she's got a clear shot at Harman. A bitter primary split the area's Republican voters, leaving hard feelings that have prevented former opponent Ron Florance from making an endorsement in the race and pushed some former Florance supporters into Harman's camp. While Brooks demonstrated considerable political skill in beating Florance, she lagged in fund raising. Harman has virtually endless access to personal wealth, enough to have bought television spots in 1992 — a pricey and almost unheard-of tactic for a Los Angeles-area congressional candidate. She will certainly dip into the pot again if it becomes necessary, but as of the summer, her campaign insisted it had been spending only what it raised. Brooks spent herself into debt to finish out the primary and fund raising remained slow through the summer. If the primary is any indication, she will run a sharply negative campaign. Her opposition research against Florance bit, and she came out of the box hitting Harman for

carpetbagging and voting for the Clinton budget. Harman can respond with at least the appearance of bipartisan support, and her long list of high-level D.C. connections will probably bring in several big-name government figures to give her campaign press coverage and an aura of importance. A bruising race, but Brooks has the bigger mountain to climb. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 37 (77% D - 13% R) —
Democrat: Incumbent Walter Tucker III of Compton. Libertarian: Guy Wilson of San Pedro.

Tucker is another young, energetic, talented freshman, whose star was on the rise until he was indicted on bribery charges. The indictment arose out of an FBI sting investigation into alleged payoffs made while Tucker was mayor of Compton. Tucker has pleaded not guilty, and without any GOP competition, the indictment won't affect his re-election. Whether he serves out his term, however, will be up to a federal jury. SAFE DEMOCRATIC



Horn



Mathews

DISTRICT 38 (51% D - 37% R) —
Democrat: Peter Mathews. Republican: Incumbent Steve Horn. Libertarian: Lester Mueller. Peace and Freedom: Richard Green. All of Long Beach.

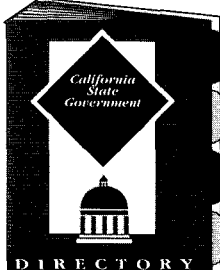
Mathews came out of the primary as a question mark. He had proved that he could get Democratic votes; without a primary opponent he attracted nearly as many votes as Horn and the Republican challenger combined. The question for observers became whether he had the resources to mount a solid general-election campaign. Democratic leaders in Washington issued a challenge to Mathews: Raise \$200,000 by June 30th and they'd put the race on their targeted list. Mathews made it a

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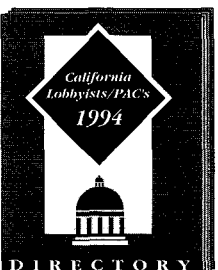
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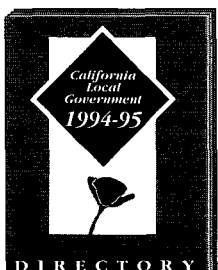
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little less than three-fourths of the way to the goal, but that proved good enough. He got a check for \$25,000 and help in picking out a professional campaign team. But Democrats have a job ahead of them. Horn is something of an anomaly among modern politicians, refusing PAC money and running solid grass-roots campaigns. As an incumbent, he has also been able to salt away more money than Mathews even without the PACs. By late summer, most of Mathews' financial support seemed to have come largely from outside the district, much of it from nationwide Asian Indian groups. To beat Horn, he'll have to try to catch up in building a following within the district. A wild card in the race may be the presence of a large body of former Perot voters that fell into Horn's camp in 1992. Horn has made the right noises about campaign reform, and is certainly leading by example, but he did vote for NAFTA. If the trade package retains any kind of political salience for the former Perotistas, they might defect to Mathews. LEANS REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 39 (39% D - 48% R) —
Democrat: Bob Davis of Buena Park. Republican: Incumbent Ed Royce of Fullerton. Libertarian: Jack Dean of Fullerton.

Conservative Royce — who climbed up from the state Senate after fellow conservative Republican William Dannemeyer gave up his seat for an unsuccessful bid for U.S. Senate in 1992 — will get another two years in Congress. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 40 (39% D - 47% R) —
Democrat: Don Rusk. Republican: Incumbent Jerry Lewis. Both of Redlands.

Lewis, a moderate, is no longer a powerful GOP force in the increasingly conservative congressional GOP caucus but has more than enough popularity and power in his district to return to Congress. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 41 (40% D - 48% R) —
Democrat: Ed Tessier of Pomona. Republican: Incumbent Jay Kim of Ontario.

Under normal circumstances, freshman Kim wouldn't have any trouble retaining this seat, given the registration numbers. But these are not normal times for the Korean-born lawmaker. He currently is the focus of several federal investigations over the funding of his 1992 race, and only survived his primary because it included four "I'm

not Jay Kim" opponents instead of just one. The district is overwhelmingly Republican but isn't safe GOP territory because of the possibility that a Kim indictment could open the door for Tessier, a Pomona businessman. Congressional Republicans are guardedly optimistic that Kim will hold on. LEANS REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 42 (53% D - 37% R) —
Democrat: Incumbent George Brown Jr. of Colton. Republican: Rob Guzman of Rancho Cucamonga.



Brown



Guzman

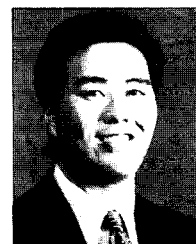
Forever, it seems, the GOP has targeted veteran incumbent Brown, whose House career now spans 32 years. Not that this Inland Empire district is all that terrible for a Democrat, but Brown is an unreconstructed liberal, who sits to the left of district party loyalists. Two years ago, Brown beat back a formidable challenge from Republican Dick Rutan, a pilot-hero who made a name for himself by flying around the world on one tank of gas. This year, he has another tough challenge from Guzman, who appeals to the district's increasing Latino population. Brown currently has several advantages. First, he has a huge lead in fund raising. Not only had he raised twice as much as Guzman by June, Guzman had to spend most of his stash to defeat a pair of primary opponents. Congressional Republicans may pitch in with some money, but Brown is expected to maintain his lead. Second, Brown's liberal views haven't to date cost him an election. Finally, Brown is a district icon who is in a position to do his aerospace-dominated district some good as chairman of the House Science, Space and Technology Committee. If any backlash develops against Brown, it will come because that chairmanship hasn't spared the area hardship from defense cutbacks. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 43 (41% D - 47% R) —
Democrat: Mark Takano. Republican: Incumbent Ken Calvert. Libertarian: Gene Berkman. All of Riverside.

Things just won't quiet down in



Calvert



Takano

this district. This match-up is a duplicate from two years ago, and Calvert claimed the victory then by a mere 519 votes. But that doesn't mean he's got a hold on the seat. Police from Corona, a small city near Riverside, caught Calvert in a car with a prostitute last winter. The first-term congressman tried to claim that the two were "just talking," then changed the story after local papers fought a legal battle to gain access to the police report. The incident almost cost Calvert the primary, where a conservative candidate gained more votes than many observers expected. Once that incident became old news, ultra-conservative GOP Assemblyman Ray Haynes, currently running for state Senate (see SD 36), threw out another zinger on Calvert's behalf: He accused Democrat Takano, a teacher, of being homosexual. Takano's campaign won't answer either way about the accusation, but did comment that moderates in the area have come out and supported Takano. Pollsters are unclear whether the gay issue will have a negative impact on Takano's campaign; the area is known to be conservative, but private polling has shown that the majority of the local voters supported allowing gays in the military — a bill Calvert voted for in Congress. But the accusation makes it easier for Takano to remind voters about Calvert's incident with the Corona police, an issue that would have seemed tasteless to bring up otherwise. But the worst news for Calvert may not have anything to do with tabloid news items at all; Republican-turned-independent write-in Bob Lynn and Libertarian Berkman could pull GOP votes away from Calvert, allowing Takano to jump ahead the other candidates. TOSSUP.

DISTRICT 44 (44% D - 44% R) —
Democrat: Steve Clute of Moreno Valley. Republican: Sonny Bono of Palm Springs. American Independent: Donald Cochran of Moreno Valley.

When veteran Republican Al McCandless decided not to seek a sev-



Bono



Clute

enth term, it set up a titanic desert clash. Democrat Clute used to serve in the Assembly where he rode Speaker Willie Brown Jr.'s pocketbook to a series of election victories and where he was regarded as something less than an intellectual giant. Republican Bono, on the other hand, is, well, Sonny Bono, the former '60s pop star who became mayor of Palm Springs. He, too, puts out less mental wattage than your average congressional candidate. So, into the fray they go. Bono scored a surprisingly easy primary victory over Riverside County Supervisor Corky Larson, thanks to an energetic campaign style and lots of cash. Both advantages still hold for the general election. Bono had more than four times as much cash as Clute during the summer months, but also had campaign debts from the primary. Although traditionally a good campaigner, Clute's fund-raising ability is suspect; he always relied on his Assembly colleagues who may or may not be replaced in his arsenal by congressional Democrats. If he can't match Bono's money, he'll lose. Bono also enjoys a registration advantage and a local tradition of electing Republicans. **LEANS REPUBLICAN**

DISTRICT 45 (35% D - 51% R) —

Democrat: Brett Williamson of Huntington Beach. Republican: Incumbent Dana Rohrabacher of Lomita.

Rohrabacher has indicated he intends to stay in Congress for 10 years. The win in November will add two more to the six he already has. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

DISTRICT 46 (48% D - 41% R) —

Democrat: Michael Farber of Santa Ana. Republican: Incumbent Bob Dornan of Garden Grove. Libertarian: Richard Newhouse of Garden Grove.

Democrats — all Democrats everywhere — would like nothing better than to knock off the flamboyant Dornan, who has spent 18 years in Congress loudly bashing everything Democratic. Even some Republicans would like to see the arch-conservative

lawmaker go away; witness his down-and-dirty primary challenge in 1992. But Dornan keeps ticking away, despite the fact that he no longer fits his district profile. The district is increasingly minority, but Latinos in particular don't vote in great numbers and the growing number of Vietnamese tend to support Dornan — a virulent anti-Communist during the Cold War. As a result, the well-heeled Dornan has survived. This year, local Democrats say they have found the right candidate in Farber, who is young, polished and has a long Democratic pedigree. But Farber had to spend much of his resources to win the primary against Latino Robert Banuelos, who lost to Dornan in 1992. Not only that, his campaign against Banuelos alienated many Latinos. And while Dornan could have been called a carpetbagger two years ago when he moved after redistricting, Farber is even newer to the area. Two years ago, he lost a Democratic congressional primary in San Diego. **LEANS REPUBLICAN**

DISTRICT 47 (30% D - 56% R) —

Democrat: Gary Kingbury of Irvine. Republican: Incumbent Christopher Cox of Newport Beach. Libertarian: Victor Wagner of Mission Viejo.

Cox, who once worked for the White House, will return to Congress for a fourth term. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

DISTRICT 48 (29% D - 55% R) —

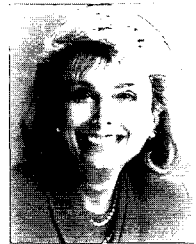
Democrat: Andrei Leshick of Valley Center. Republican: Incumbent Ron Packard of Carlsbad. Peace and Freedom: Donna White of San Diego.

Packard, who first won his seat as a write-in candidate, returns for his seventh term. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

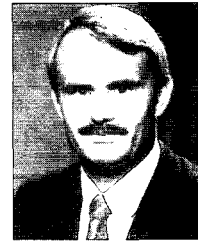
DISTRICT 49 (40% D - 42% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent Lynn Schenk of La Jolla. Republican: Brian Bilbray of San Diego. Libertarian: Chris Hoogenboom of La Jolla. Peace and Freedom: Renate Kline of Spring Valley.

This district is Republican territory, but Democrat Schenk stole it away from political neophyte Judy Jarvis two years ago by outspending her seven-to-one. This year the Republicans want it back, and their candidate is more formidable. Bilbray is a San Diego County supervisor who is well liked and whose supervisorial seat is in a *Democratic* part of San Diego. Schenk, who once worked for former Governor Jerry



Schenk



Bilbray

Brown, is a fund-raising machine who poses problems for the GOP. Party loyalty is shallow in San Diego, which tends to negate the registration edge. Washington PACs and women's groups have already started opening their vault doors to Schenk, but the GOP's indicated it will help Bilbray stock up his political arsenal as well. This will be expensive, but if the GOP ever hopes to wrest control of Congress, it will need this district. **TOSSUP**

DISTRICT 50 (51% D - 34% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent Bob Filner of San Diego. Republican: Mary Alice Acevedo of Bonita. Green: Kep Krueger of San Diego. Libertarian: Richardo Duenes of San Ysidro. Peace and Freedom: Guillermo Ramirez of San Diego.

Filner, who joined the freedom rides in the South during the 1960s and spent several months in jail for integrating a lunch counter in Mississippi, will continue to represent one of California's most ethnically diverse districts. **SAFE DEMOCRATIC**

DISTRICT 51 (30% D - 51% R) —

Democrat: Rita Tamerius of Carlsbad. Republican: Incumbent Randy Cunningham of San Marcos. Libertarian: Bill Holmes of Escondido. Peace and Freedom: Miriam Clark of Escondido.

Former fighter-ace Cunningham, who entered Congress after defeating Democratic incumbent Jim Bates after Bates was found guilty of sexual harassment in 1990, will return to Washington. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

DISTRICT 52 (39% D - 45% R) —

Democrat: Janet Gastil of La Mesa. Republican: Incumbent Duncan Hunter of Coronado. Libertarian: Joe Shea of Romona. Peace and Freedom: Art Edelman of La Mesa.

Democrat Gastil had her chance to oust Hunter two years ago when the incumbent's reputation was blemished by 399 bounced checks at the now-defunct congressional bank. **SAFE REPUBLICAN** 🏠

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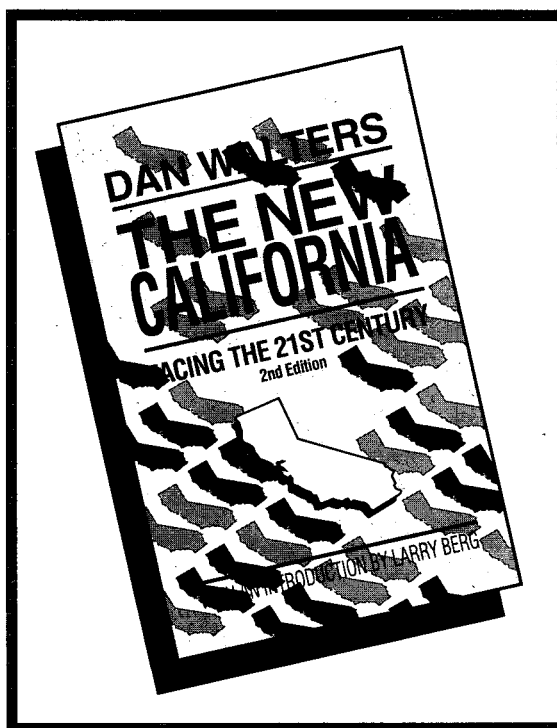
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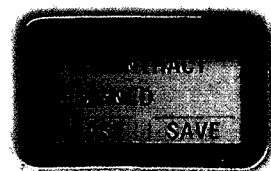
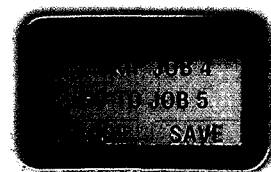
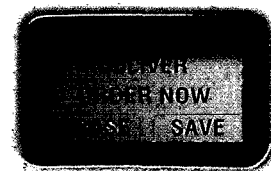
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Senate

DISTRICT 2 (55% D - 31% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent Michael Thompson of St. Helena. Republican: Frank McMichael of Ukiah. Peace and Freedom: Pamela Elizondo of Laytonville.

There was no primary contest in this district, so incumbent Thompson and Mendocino County Supervisor McMichael are just beginning their campaigning. Thompson won the old 2nd District seat last year in a special election to replace former Senate Majority Leader Barry Keene, who quit mid-term. To do so, Thompson had to abandon his old Senate seat in the 4th District, and this opened him up to charges of carpetbagging. But his opponent couldn't make it stick. Thompson originally was elected in 1990 by defeating former Senate Minority Leader Jim Nielsen in a district that was decidedly more Democratic. Thus, McMichael has an uphill battle despite being an elected supervisor, as Mendocino only accounts for 10 percent of the district. Democrats aren't worried about Thompson, who already has been appointed to chair the Senate Revenue and Taxation Committee next session. **SAFE DEMOCRATIC**

DISTRICT 4 (48% D - 39% R) —
Democrat: Michael McGowan of West Sacramento. Republican: Incumbent Maurice Johannessen of Redding.

Incumbent Johannessen won this district just last year in a special election made necessary by the defection of Democrat Mike Thompson to the 2nd District (see above). In that race, Johannessen used personal wealth to clobber former Assemblywoman Bev Hansen in the primary, then overwhelm Democrat Montana Podva in the run off. This time, Democrats are hanging their hat on McGowan, who has worn a couple of elected official caps himself. As Yolo County supervisor and former mayor of West Sacramento, he is no stranger to the district and no liberal. But even popularity sometimes cannot overcome incumbent status and wealth, both currently held by Johannessen, whose campaign launched a flight of

campaign ads in late August, a strategy that might validate McGowan as a real threat. **LEANS REPUBLICAN**

DISTRICT 6 (54% D - 34% R) —
Democrat: Incumbent Leroy Greene of Carmichael. Republican: Dave Cox of Fair Oaks.



Greene



Cox

For a candidate running in a district where the party demographics don't look very comforting for a Republican, Sacramento County Supervisor Cox is acting confident in his race against incumbent Democrat Greene. Claiming the crusty 75-year-old Greene has worn out his welcome with constituents, Cox, a 56-year-old insurance exec, touts his "broad appeal." Greene claims it's track record that counts, something he can point to after 32 years of policy-making. But as confident as he sounds, Cox' campaign bank account was less than half the size of Greene's going into the fall contest and will need an infusion from Senate Republicans. Cox may also have trouble getting law-enforcement support, particularly after the Sacramento supervisors forced an unpopular contract on sheriff's deputies. That will help Greene, who said he questions Cox' commitment to the constituents who elected him to the board in 1992. The Greene campaign is managed by veteran consultant Richie Ross, known for his direct mail hit pieces. Cox' guidance is coming from consultant Jim Nygren and managed by Joel Szabat, formerly with the Environmental Protection Agency under Bush and currently on leave from Assemblyman Larry Bowler's staff. Before it's over, this could be one of the hottest Senate races of the year, reminiscent of Greene's

epic battle eight years ago against another then-supervisor — Sandy Smoley. **LEANS DEMOCRATIC**

DISTRICT 8 (58% D - 24% R) —
Democrat: Patrick Fitzgerald. Republican: Tom Spinoso. Libertarian: Mark Valverde. Independent: Incumbent Quentin Kopp. All of San Francisco.

Under normal circumstances, the Democrat probably could waltz to victory in this race. But the presence of independent incumbent Kopp makes this contest anything but normal. **SAFE INDEPENDENT**

DISTRICT 10 (55% D - 30% R) —
Democrat: Incumbent Bill Lockyer. Republican: Anthony Smith. Both of Hayward.

Bill Lockyer, the president pro tempore of the Senate, has his hands full this election season, but not here in his own backyard. Lockyer's troubles involve Democratic colleagues who face tough elections from Sacramento to San Diego. **SAFE DEMOCRATIC**

DISTRICT 12 (50% D - 39% R) —
Democrat: Incumbent Dan McCorquodale. Republican: Dick Monteith. Libertarian: Linda Marie De Groat. All of Modesto.

Both parties are watching this race, as are big money PACs. The district is located in Stanislaus County; incumbent McCorquodale moved to Modesto from San Jose, which used to be in the district. He's had to work hard to befriend agriculture, which his challenger, agribusinessman Monteith, also has done. The biggest problem for Monteith may be that he is too far to the right in a middle-of-the-road district. He is playing up an anti-incumbent sentiment by underscoring his roots of 34 years in Modesto and calling McCorquodale an ultra-liberal from Santa Clara, which his old district used to encompass. McCorquodale says he is not worried about Monteith, but rather about conservative interests flooding the district with hit mail funded by the Republican leadership. **TOSSUP**

DISTRICT 14 (42% D - 47% R) —

Democrat: Tony Hagopian. Republican: Incumbent Ken Maddy. Both of Fresno.

If every last nickel fell into place, Maddy could begin 1995 as Senate pro tem. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 16 (58% D - 32% R) —

Democrat: Jim Costa of Fresno. Republican: Incumbent Phil Wyman of Hanford.



Costa



Wyman

This could be the longest campaign fight in history. When Wyman was elected to the state Senate in a special election in March 1993, he beat Assemblyman Costa. But that was in the old, pre-reapportionment 16th District, which leaned decidedly Republican. Wyman, a former assemblyman, now must defend his seat in a new district where registration more than favors Democrats. Still, Wyman is a hard campaigner who seems to show up everywhere in the district. Both he and Costa recognize the significance of agricultural support. Costa's ties there run deep, but Wyman has been careful not to alienate agricultural interests. Another advantage for Costa is his co-authorship of the "three strikes" measure, popular at a time when crime measures at the top of public concern list. Despite some baggage Costa carries — which Wyman consultant Wayne Johnson won't be shy about sharing — he has always won elections handily in this region. Wyman, too, has enjoyed easy wins, but that was in a different district with a more conservative makeup. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 18 (45% D - 40% R) —

Democrat: Jack O'Connell of Santa Barbara. Republican: Steve MacElvaine of Morro Bay.

O'Connell is used to running in tough districts and, as a result, has developed a relentless campaign style that features a workaholic's schedule and a perpetual district walk-a-thon. That paid off in his Assembly campaigns where he went from an unknown upset winner (1982) to the nomi-



O'Connell

nee of both Democrats and Republicans (1988). But after six Assembly races, O'Connell finds himself back at square one: virtually unknown to a large chunk of voters. In addition, he's opposed by a moderate Republican — MacElvaine — who mirrors O'Connell's views on everything from the environment to abortion. Registration favors Republicans but has been dropping steadily over the years, and the current incumbent — Democrat Gary Hart, who is retiring — is popular and has held the district with little effort since 1982. For O'Connell, the uncharted land lies to the north, and it was only last year that he began to bring his peripatetic campaign to the environs of San Luis Obispo County. MacElvaine, on the other hand, has a resume stocked with years of local and regional government service. For instance, he is a former San Luis Obispo County supervisor and a former member of the California Coastal Commission. Both sides will get plenty of help from their respective party caucuses in the Senate, making this one of the most expensive Senate races of the year. TOSSUP

DISTRICT 20 (58% D - 29% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent Herschel Rosenthal of Los Angeles. Republican: Dolores White of Reseda.

The voters of this San Fernando Valley district are ready for a break, and this election should provide it. The 20th was the scene of a bloody special election in 1992 which installed David Roberti to replace Alan Robbins, then saw an even bloodier recall campaign against Roberti earlier this year. When all was said and done, Roberti won the recall, but was on his way out anyway, thanks to term limits. Rosenthal had to move into the district to run, and he made the decision at the last minute, but he has represented portions of it in the past and should weather carpebagging accusations. White was a cog in the recall effort and her name carried her through the primary, but she'll likely not match Rosenthal in fund-raising.

Look for Rosenthal to finish out his career in the Valley. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 22 (63% D - 21% R) —

Democrat: Richard Polanco. Republican: Yong Tai Lee. Libertarian: Vincent Ways. Peace and Freedom: Pearl Wolff. All of Los Angeles.

Polanco faced a slightly stiffer challenge than he expected in the primary to fill this brand new seat, in part because his king-making activities took him elsewhere. What competition there was, however, was all in the primary, and Polanco will move across the hall next year. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 24 (59% D - 28% R) —

Democrat: Hilda Solis of El Monte. Republican: Dave Boyer of Azusa. Libertarian: George Feger of Monterey Park.

After one term in the Assembly, Solis found herself in the catbird seat when Art Torres decided to run for insurance commissioner. Entering late, she dashed the hopes of Azusa Mayor Eugene Moses, who'd been raising money for more than a year. Although Anglo politicians have won here in the past, the district was drawn for a Latino, and Solis will have an easy time of it. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 26 (80% D - 10% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent Diane Watson. Republican: Joe Piechowski. Libertarian: Bob Weber. Peace and Freedom: Yassin Saadeddin. All of Los Angeles.

The definition of a safe district. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 28 (52% D - 33% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent Ralph Dills of Gardena. Republican: David Barrett Cohen of Redondo Beach. Libertarian: Neal Donner of Los Angeles. Peace and Freedom: Cindy Henderson of Los Angeles.

Democrat Dills is the political equivalent of a perpetual motion machine. He won a hard-fought primary in a district that was in large part new to him. But with a list of PAC contributors that reads like a "who's who" list of major California corporations and other financial interests, Dills had the money to swamp his opponent with mailers and billboards bearing his "Too Old to Quit," slogan. Dills will have the same access to virtually unlimited funding throughout the fall election, but Republicans think they have a potential winner in Cohen. The half-Samoan Cohen is said to be a charismatic, vibrant



Dills



Cohen

speaker that will contrast sharply with the octogenarian Dills. He is avoiding saying outright that Dills is too old to serve but is pointing out that if term limits had been in effect when the incumbent first took office, the Democrat would have been forced out of his Assembly seat in the middle of World War II. It will be difficult for Cohen to raise the kind of cash that will be needed to unseat Dills, absent outside help. The incumbent, however, is considered vulnerable enough that a late blitz on behalf of Cohen is not out of the question. The key will be who gets his voters out, as the district nests two very different Assembly districts — one solidly Republican, the other solidly Democratic. If age and experience count for

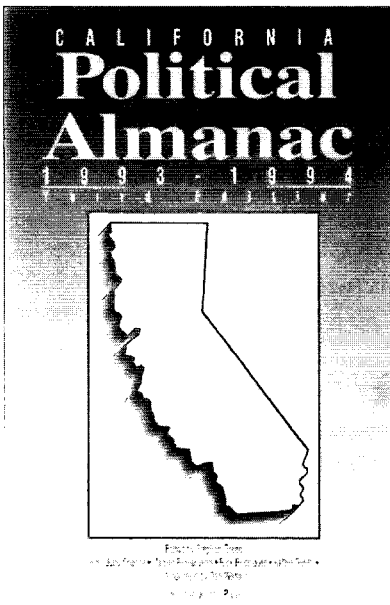
anything, a man who was winning elections during the Depression can't be counted out. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 29 (41% D - 46% R) —
Democrat: Sandy Hester of Claremont. Republican: Richard Mountjoy of Monrovia. Libertarian: Matt Piazza of La Mirada. Green: Walter Sheasby of Sierra Madre.

The 29th District holds a special election this year because the former incumbent — Republican Frank Hill — resigned this summer after being convicted on federal corruption charges. November will see the runoff from a mid-September primary that ranked among the most expensive, and muddiest, of the year. At first, the fight appeared to be between conservative Richard Mountjoy and moderate Paul Horcher, the two Republican assemblymen nested within the 29th. But then along came a Republican "Bigfoot:" Diamond Bar Councilman Gary Miller, who brought along an open checkbook from which poured more than \$400,000 by campaign's end. With the two Sacramento incumbents shackled

by contribution limits imposed on special elections, the race suddenly shifted from Mountjoy vs. Horcher to Mountjoy vs. Miller. The two slashed away at each other: Mountjoy accused Miller of using his council position to pad his land development business; Miller chided Mountjoy for voting for and accepting legislative pay raises. Horcher remained competitive in fund raising with Mountjoy and attacked both for being too conservative. Horcher also earned some key law-enforcement and newspaper endorsements. The campaign was dominated by direct mail and a heavy emphasis on absentee ballot mailing. Mountjoy enjoyed relatively good name recognition within the district, in part thanks to his advocacy of the immigration initiative, Proposition 187, and he's good at running grassroots campaigns. Ultimately, this made up for Miller's money, and Mountjoy won among the Republicans with 45% of the vote. Democrat Hester, a perennial candidate, managed 43 percent of the vote in a 1992 run at Hill, but registration suggests an awfully high mountain for her to climb. SAFE REPUBLICAN

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DISTRICT 30 (65% D - 24% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent Charles Calderon of Montebello. Republican: Ken Gow of Whittier.

Calderon has built a reputation as something of a slick operator in the Legislature, but whether that's good or bad, it won't make a difference in November. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 32 (53% D - 37% R) —

Democrat: incumbent Ruben Ayala of Rancho Cucamonga. Republican: Earl deVries of Ontario.

Senate Republicans think this seat will go their way by the end of the century, but they're going to have to wait for veteran incumbent Ayala to be kicked out by term limits in 1998. Ayala's toughest challenge in years came in 1990, in the pre-reapportionment 34th District against then-Assemblyman Chuck Bader. He beat Bader by 5500 votes in that contest and now has a bigger registration edge in his new district. In addition, deVries is not as well known as Bader. Still, the district went for both George Bush and Bruce Herschensohn in 1992, but Ayala's the

kind of conservative Democrat who fits the bill. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 34 (46% D - 42% R) —

Democrat: Donna Chessen of Garden Grove. Republican: Incumbent Rob Hurtt of Garden Grove. Libertarian: Thomas Reimer of Orange.

In 1993, when millionaire Hurtt stepped out from behind the screen of the conservative Allied Business PAC to run for the Senate seat vacated by Republican Ed Royce's election to Congress, he inherited a district where the GOP maintained a 6 percent registration edge. The 1991 reapportionment reversed those numbers on Hurtt but not enough to cause him much concern. After all, this still is Orange County, where Republicans tend to vote and businessman Hurtt has enough money to keep them motivated. Hurtt himself once predicted a tough re-election, but few think he'll actually be threatened. If Democrats accomplish anything, they'd like to pin Hurtt to his own district. To accomplish this, Democrats recruited a formidable opponent in Garden Grove Councilwoman Chessen. She's well-known but may have trouble matching Hurtt's financial resources. Still, consultant Larry Sheingold brings some firepower and may force Hurtt to spend on himself and not against Democrats elsewhere. SAFE REPUBLICAN

up controversy in another race — the congressional contest between incumbent Republican Ken Calvert and Democrat Mark Takano (see the 43rd District). He accused Takano of being a homosexual. Cenicerros, meanwhile, has received financial help from women's groups, the California Teachers' Association, trial lawyers, and Senate Democrats. Haynes, on the other hand, has a good fund-raising operation and the deep pockets of Allied Business PAC to fuel his campaign. Democrats would have written off this district had Byrd been the GOP nominee, but Haynes is a much more inviting target. After all, Presley did win here for years, although never against such a daunting registration deficit. LEANS REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 38 (31% D - 52% R) —

Democrat: Thomas Berry of Laguna Hills. Republican: Incumbent Bill Craven of Oceanside. Libertarian August Anderson of Encinitas. Peace and Freedom: Mary Ann Nikl of Carlsbad.

Bill Craven will win his fifth and final Senate term, then retire thanks to term limits. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 40 (46% D - 38% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent Steve Peace. Republican: Joe Ghougassian. Libertarian: Ben Gibbs. Peace and Freedom: Elena Smith Pelayo. All of Chula Vista.

Republicans probably had their best chance to capture this district last December in the special election run off to replace former Senator Waddie Deddeh. Although Democratic registration was five points higher, the election fell between Christmas and New Year's — prime time for the GOP, which often is better at marshalling its troops for special elections. Voter turnout was predictably dismal, the Senate GOP leaders had nothing better to do than spend money on the election, and the Democratic candidate was Assemblyman Peace, who was running in new territory. But Peace prevailed over Republican Ghougassian, the former ambassador to the Middle East country of Qatar. Now, although he's lost registration, the moderate Peace is an incumbent who knows how to run an effective campaign. Ghougassian, meanwhile, must seed his campaign treasury with local fund raising, and recent reports show that he's still paying off the debt left over from December. Senate Republicans probably have better investments elsewhere. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 36 (38% D - 49% R) —

Democrat: Kay Cenicerros of Riverside. Republican: Ray Haynes of Temecula. Libertarian: David Sarosi of Mira Loma.

Voter registration in Riverside County has been slipping away from Democrats for more than a decade, but they always had a popular candidate to offset the numbers. The 1991 reapportionment greased the slope for Democrats even more, causing longtime incumbent Robert Presley to finally give up the ghost and run for the Board of Equalization instead. Most observers assumed the election would be decided in the GOP primary, where conservative Assemblyman Haynes swamped Riverside County Sheriff Cois Byrd. But the GOP is fractured between old-line moderates and newcomer conservatives in this part of the Inland Empire, and the old-line faction doesn't much care for Haynes. Thus, the challenge for the Democratic nominee, Riverside County Supervisor Cenicerros, is to pull in all those moderates who voted for Byrd. Haynes, meanwhile, has stirred

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Assembly

DISTRICT 1 (54% D - 31% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent Dan Hauser of Arcata. Republican: John Baird of Willits. Libertarian: Charles Harris of Fulton.

Democrats were worried about this seat in 1992, but this year it doesn't register on their radar screen. Running for his seventh and final term, Democrat Hauser appears safe against opponent Baird, chairman of his party's central committee in Mendocino County. To date, Baird hasn't made much noise in the district, mainly because he ran unopposed in the primary. That could be a disadvantage against the well-known Hauser. **SAFE DEMOCRATIC**

DISTRICT 2 (44% D - 43% R) —

Democrat: James Bainbridge of Redding. Republican: Tom Woods of Shasta. Libertarian: Frederick Schwartz of Yuba City.

The Stan Statham touch is likely to continue in the Republican district he represented before running unsuccessfully for lieutenant governor. He will be replaced by his former field representative, Woods, who is also a former announcer for an inspirational radio station in Redding. Woods received nearly as many votes in the primary as did Bainbridge. But the Democrat was unopposed, while Woods had to fend off a challenge from Burt Bundy. It may be assumed that the bulk of Bundy's 16,000 Republicans will fall to Woods. Democrats don't appear to have targeted this seat. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

DISTRICT 3 (43% D - 42% R) —

Democrat: Jim Chapman of Susanville. Republican: Incumbent Bernie Richter of Chico.

This large district in the upper east corner of the state was heavily vied for in 1992 when it was wide open. Now, it appears safe for incumbent Richter, who stirred up some controversy during his first term when he championed legislation to abolish affirmative action. Chapman is a Lassen County supervisor, but Lassen doesn't contribute

enough votes to make that fact significant. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

DISTRICT 4 (41% D - 46% R) —

Democrat: Charles Fish of Meadow Vista. Republican: Incumbent David Knowles of Placerville. Libertarian: Clyde Smith of Auburn.

If Bo knows baseball, then Knowles knows hardball. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

DISTRICT 5 (44% D - 43% R) —

Democrat: Joan Barry of Orangevale. Republican: Incumbent Barbara Alby of Fair Oaks.

Getting a get-tough-on-crime bill through the Legislature this year is a star incumbent Alby is wearing on her shoulder, something sure to play well with crime-sensitive voters. Not that she has all that much campaigning to do against Barry, running again for a seat that traditionally goes to Republicans. Barry challenged then-incumbent B.T. Collins in 1992 for the seat, where he served until his death in 1993. She then challenged Alby in the special election to replace Collins. She lost both times. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

DISTRICT 6 (54% D - 30% R) —

Democrat: Kerry Mazzoni of Novato. Republican: Brian Sobel of Petaluma. Peace and Freedom: Coleman Persily of San Rafael.

This district lost its incumbent when Mazzoni defeated unpopular Vivien Bronshvag in the primary. Mazzoni, a Novato school board member, has been the only challenger to unseat an incumbent so far this year. There is no reason to believe she will have trouble in November. **SAFE DEMOCRATIC**

DISTRICT 7 (56% D - 32% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent Valerie Brown of Sonoma. Republican: Roger Williams of Sonoma. Peace and Freedom: Irv Sutley of Glen Ellen.

District registration is solidly Democratic and incumbent rookie Brown has been one of the brighter lights of the freshman class. **SAFE DEMOCRATIC**

DISTRICT 8 (52% D - 33% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent Tom Hannigan of Fairfield. Republican: Bryan Stocking of Vacaville.

The Democratic registration edge is tough to overcome. Even tougher is the Democratic candidate — the Assembly majority leader about to win his ninth and final term. **SAFE DEMOCRATIC**

DISTRICT 9 (65% D - 24% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent Phil Isenberg of Sacramento. Republican: Beth Lofton of Sacramento.

In one of the top 10 Democratic districts in the state, Capitol icon Isenberg will have no problem staying a length or two ahead of Lofton. **SAFE DEMOCRATIC**

DISTRICT 10 (46% D - 43% R) —

Democrat: Kathleen Wishnick of Elk Grove. Republican: Incumbent Larry Bowler of Sacramento. American Independent: John Rakus of Sacramento.

Formerly with the Department of Justice, Wishnick has an Achilles' heel in her effort to unseat first-term incumbent Bowler, a former sheriff's lieutenant: the almighty dollar. She doesn't have the strongest fund-raising skills compared to Bowler, who's raised about five times the amount as she has. But they both have crime-fighting backgrounds which their respective campaigns will share with voters. Still, this district speaks rather conservatively, and registration favors Bowler. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

DISTRICT 11 (55% D - 31% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent Robert Campbell of Martinez. Peace and Freedom: Amanda Coughlan of Pleasant Hill.

Campbell will return for his eighth — and final — term in the Assembly. **SAFE DEMOCRATIC**

DISTRICT 12 (61% D - 19% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent John Burton. Republican: Philip Wing. Libertarian: Anton Sherwood. All of San Francisco.

Thanks to term limits, Burton faces

the end of yet another phase in a political career that has featured service in Congress sandwiched between two stints in the Assembly. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 13 (65% D - 15% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent Willie Brown Jr. Republican: Marc Wolin. Libertarian: Mark Pickens. All of San Francisco.

After 30 years, it is impossible to think of the Assembly without Willie Lewis Brown Jr. Yet even as the term-limit hourglass sheds its final grain, there is the expectation that he will pull one more rabbit from the hat and remain. Oh, Willie, oh Willie, where are Sister Rose and the Supremes when you really need them? SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 14 (71% D - 12% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent Tom Bates. Republican: David Anderson. Green: Hank Chapot Jr. All of Oakland.

The carnage visited upon the Bay Area by term limits continues as Bates' 10-term career ends after this re-election. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 15 (39% D - 48% R) —

Democrat: David Kearns of Danville. Republican: Incumbent Richard Rainey of Walnut Creek.

Incumbent freshman Rainey, a former Contra Costa County sheriff, has distinguished himself as a thoughtful legislator. His reward — another term. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 16 (70% D - 16% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent Barbara Lee. Republican: Andre-Tascha Ham-Lamme. Both of Oakland.

Solid territory for Lee. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 17 (53% D - 37% R) —

Democrat: Mike Machado of Linden. Republican: Ed Simas of Stockton.

This district, or a version of it, rested firmly in the Democratic column during the 1980s, thanks to Pat Johnston. But when Johnston left for the Senate in 1991, Republicans managed to snatch it away in a special election, thanks mainly to the Democratic candidate — Patti Garamendi, one of the least popular politicians



Machado



Simas

ever to seek office in the San Joaquin Valley. Republican Dean Andal beat Garamendi, then held on to win a squeaker re-election in 1992 against Democrat Machado. Andal is running for Board of Equalization in 1994, leaving the seat open once again. And Machado is back for another try. He's opposed by San Joaquin County Supervisor Simas. Both candidates boast of "deep roots" in the county, a concern for crime and agriculture. And while both Machado and Simas claim to have significant party cross-pollination, Simas' bank account — at \$206,000, including a \$100,000 loan to himself — is about 10 times Machado's. A debt from his previous campaign

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also hangs over the Democrat's head. Simas will try to lock down the district's more conservative Democrats, saying he "is closer to them on issues," a reputation earned during more than five years on the San Joaquin board. But the Machado camp says voters will walk with its man, a farmer and Stanford economist who "has a lot of friends" concerned about agricultural issues in California. Even his campaign committee name confirms the "anyone goes" voter grab: Democrats and Republicans for Mike Machado. Registration leans Machado's way — on paper — but Andal proved that registration can be beat. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 18 (60% D - 26% R) —
Democrat: Michael Sweeney of Hayward. Republican: Don Grundmann of Castro Valley.

Hayward Mayor Sweeney won an unopposed primary for this seat, vacated when Johan Klehs decided to try for the Board of Equalization. Sweeney might as well be unopposed in the general election as well. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 19 (55% D - 30% R) —
Democrat: Incumbent Jackie Speier of South San Francisco. Peace and Freedom: David Reichard of San Bruno.

This district isn't all *that* safe for an ordinary, run-of-the-mill Democrat. But four-term incumbent Speier is no ordinary Democrat, and Republicans didn't even apply. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 20 (50% D - 33% R) —
Democrat: Liz Figueroa of Fremont. Republican: Scott Haggerty of Fremont. Libertarian: Terry Savage of San Jose.

There is no incumbent in this blue-collar district, since Democrat Delaine Eastin left to run for Superintendent of Public Instruction. And like Eastin, Figueroa boasts the support of the California Teachers' Association, along with labor, women's and animal-rights groups. She also chairs the Democratic Party in Alameda. Her opponent, moderate Republican Haggerty, has wasted no time wooing voters: Early on, he broke his campaign into mini-campaigns for each city, and picked up endorsements from Senator Tom Campbell (R-Stanford) and a list of local city officials.

Haggerty says that although PAC money has been "non-existent" for his campaign, that's fine with him and he expects to do all right without it. District registration marginally favors Democrats, but even Figueroa says that she views her opponent as a serious, hard-working contender. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

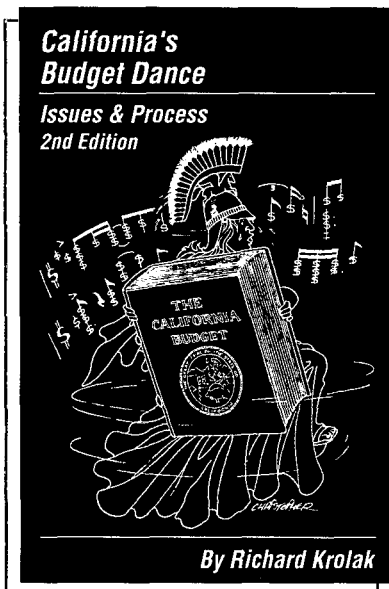
DISTRICT 21 (48% D - 36% R) —
Democrat: Incumbent Byron Sher of Stanford. Republican: Bill Mills of Palo Alto.

This should be a rough-and-tumble district, wide open for the taking by either party. And it probably will be, once term limits boot Sher from office in 1996. With a solid effort in '94, Mills, an electrical engineer from Palo Alto, could lay the groundwork for the post-Sher era. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 22 (49% D - 34% R) —
Democrat: Incumbent John Vasconcellos of San Jose. Republican: Karin Dowdy of Saratoga.

And another crusty old-growth redwood waits for the term-limit axe.

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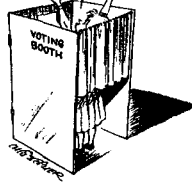
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Vasconcellos has been in the Assembly since 1966, the last decade as chairman of Ways and Means. Along with Willie Brown Jr., John Burton, Al Alquist and others, he has helped bring a lot of legislative clout to the Bay Area — a situation that may never occur again. Meanwhile, Sunnyvale City Councilman Stan Kawczynski is trying to garner enough signatures to enter this race as an independent third candidate. If he succeeds, he'll hurt Dowdy more than Vasconcellos. Vasconcellos' campaign is hardly taking either challenger seriously. **SAFE DEMOCRATIC**

DISTRICT 23 (60% D - 24% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent Dominic Cortese. Republican: Frank Jewett. Green: Tim Fitzgerald. All of San Jose.

The real race took place in the Democratic primary. And that wasn't much of a contest either. **SAFE DEMOCRATIC**

DISTRICT 24 (44% D - 41% R) —

Democrat: Ed Foglia of San Jose. Republican: Jim Cunneen of Cupertino.



Foglia



Cunneen

This seat was vacated when GOP incumbent Charles Quackenbush left to run for insurance commissioner. District registration tends to favor Republicans, and GOP nominee Cunneen boasts the support of three of his former bosses — state Senator Tom Campbell, former Senator Becky Morgan and former Congressman Ed Zschau. All of them were popular with local voters. Cunneen has waged an aggressive campaign, and has found most of his financial support coming from within the district. But Foglia cannot be taken lightly. He knows his way around politics from his years as president of the California Teachers' Association — arguably one of the most powerful political entities in the state. And the CTA never shies away from giving money when one of its own is on the campaign trail; Foglia has picked up about \$12,500 from the

CTA already and expects more. The GOP, meanwhile, won't take this district for granted and will provide Cunneen whatever he needs to keep the seat on its side of the aisle. **LEANS REPUBLICAN**

DISTRICT 25 (48% D - 41% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent Margaret Snyder of Modesto. Republican: George House of Hughson. Libertarian: Al Segalla of Twain Harte.



House



Snyder

Republican House was plagued by fund-raising challenges early in the campaign, but money is the least of his worries now that Assembly Republicans have placed this seat high on their target list. The district is tough for a Democrat, even though Snyder won it in 1992. She did so by beating a very conservative New York transplant named Barbara Keating-Edh. Registration leans the GOP's way, and the Democrats tend to be on the conservative side. Snyder, who spent seven years on the Modesto School Board, has been increasing her presence in the district by keeping a "heavy grass-roots schedule." Her fund-raising also has not been spectacular for an incumbent in a targeted race, so she'll expect a lot of help from the Democratic caucus. Snyder's consultant, Phil Giarrizzo, is a well-established Democrat who will probably zone in on almond farmer and former CHP commander House's conservative statements on abortion. House's campaign, on the other hand, will target weaknesses in Snyder's support in a district where the Democrat incumbent "should have done better." But Snyder has some conservative appeal. For example, the National Rifle Association puts her on its "A" list of anti-gun control legislators. Voter turnout will be crucial since cross-over voting is not uncommon. **LEANS DEMOCRATIC**

DISTRICT 26 (53% D - 35% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent Sal Canella. Libertarian: Rob Parks. Both of Ceres.

Canella can concentrate on ready-

ing himself for the next legislative session. **SAFE DEMOCRATIC**

DISTRICT 27 (51% D - 31% R) —

Democrat: Bill Monning of Salinas. Republican: Incumbent Bruce McPherson of Santa Cruz. Libertarian: O. Robert Welch of Brookdale.

By every right, this district ought to belong to the Democrats. After all, White House Chief of Staff Leon Panetta represented this area in Congress for years. After he joined the Clinton team, he was replaced in the House by Democrat Sam Farr, who vacated this Assembly seat to succeed Panetta. Democrats enjoy a 20-point registration edge, and the district includes liberal Santa Cruz and glitzy Carmel. But in the special 1993 election to replace Farr, the GOP ran just the right candidate — former newspaper publisher McPherson whose family has been an area mover and shaker for generations. And Democrats ran a candidate who was *too* liberal for the area. They seem to have repeated the mistake with Monning, a longtime activist for farm labor and other minority causes. It was thought that Monning's primary opponent — Cathy O'Boyle, a moderate and an aide to state Senator Henry Mello — would have been a more formidable foe for McPherson, but she lost badly in June. Party lines tend to blur here among moderates, who eschew candidates on the far left or right, and that helps the incumbent. In addition, McPherson has gained the endorsement of the California Teachers' Association, which rarely backs Republicans. This is one district Republicans dearly want to hold, and they'll back McPherson to the hilt. **LEANS REPUBLICAN**

DISTRICT 28 (52% D - 34% R) —

Democrat: Lily Cervantes of Salinas. Republican: Peter Frusetta of Tres Pinos.



Cervantes



Frusetta

Incumbent Democrat Rusty Areias left this seat open when he ran for controller. His mantle has fallen to Cervantes, a Salinas attorney and former coastal commissioner. Republican

Frusetta, a rancher and businessman, lost to Areias in 1992 after a nasty election campaign. In some ways, the Frusetta-Cervantes confrontation is a classic: farmer vs. environmentalist, labor vs. management. But Cervantes is a Latina, which accounts for much in a district where 46 percent of the people are Latino. Nearly 80 percent of the district lies in southern Santa Clara County and inland Monterey County — Latino enclaves both. That, plus registration, give Cervantes an early edge. **LEANS DEMOCRATIC**

DISTRICT 29 (44% D - 46% R) —
Democrat: Michael O'Hare. Republican: Charles Poochigian. Both of Fresno.

Republican Bill Jones is running for secretary of state, but his party will hold onto his seat with Poochigian. He's a former appointments secretary for Governor Pete Wilson and has raised a lot of money. He also enjoys a solid registration edge. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

DISTRICT 30 (55% D - 35% R) —
Democrat: Bryn Batrich of Fresno. Republican: Brian Setencich of Fresno.

Both parties want this seat being



Setencich



Batrich

vacated by Assemblyman Jim Costa, who is making a run for the state Senate. A former legislative aide to Costa and congressional aide to Tony Coelho, Batrich has the edge in a district with a high Democratic registration. But she hugs the fence and has bipartisan appeal, as displayed by endorsements from Republican agricultural power man John Harris of Harris Ranch, and from the California Correctional Peace Officers Association. But Republicans George Bush and Bruce Herschensohn won in this district in 1992, making it a prime area for cross-over voters. That could benefit Setencich, a Fresno city councilman. Costa's departure puts this district within GOP reach, and both parties will spend heavily here. **LEANS DEMOCRATIC**

DISTRICT 31 (61% D - 29% R) —
Democrat: Incumbent Cruz Bustamante of Fresno. Republican: Glen Peterson of Visalia.

No need for Bustamante to lean to the left, lean to the right, stand up, sit down, fight, fight, fight against Tulare County sheriff's deputy Peterson. **SAFE DEMOCRATIC**

DISTRICT 32 (41% D - 48% R) —
Democrat: Jack Keally of Lindsay. Republican: Incumbent Trice Harvey of Bakersfield.

See you in Sacramento, Harv. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

DISTRICT 33 (43% D - 44% R) —
Democrat: John Ashbaugh of San Luis Obispo. Republican: Tom Bordonaro of Paso Robles. Libertarian: Gary Kirkland of Templeton.

The real race here ended in the GOP primary, period. Republican Bordonaro beat six opponents, all of whom have since offered endorsements, and now he's up against Democrat Ashbaugh, a San Luis Obispo urban planner. The seat was vacated when incumbent Andrea Seastrand decided to run for Congress. If

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Bordonaro faces any difficulties, it will come after his election, when the wheelchair-bound legislator-to-be tries to maneuver around a Capitol that is not always friendly to the physically challenged. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

DISTRICT 34 (38% D - 47% R) —
Democrat: Tim Hauk of Hesperia. Republican: Keith Olberg of Victorville.

One-termer Kathleen Honeycutt, a conservative Republican, didn't give district Republicans much warning that she was leaving the Assembly because of health reasons. But she did tell 30-something conservative Olberg, who used that head start to beat Victorville City Councilman Michael Rothschild in the primary. This race was decided in June. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

 **DISTRICT 35 (47% D - 37% R) —**
Democrat: Mindy Lorenz of Summerland. Republican: Brooks Firestone of Los Olivos. Libertarian: Chris Blunt of Goleta. Green: Tom Stafford of Ojai.

This is the most Democratic district in the area, and it isn't that Democratic — despite the fact that a Democrat has represented it for 20 years. But most

local observers think the race to keep it Democratic will be uphill in 1994. The contest itself has come down to a battle between an old-school Republican and a not-so-old-school Democrat. Firestone, a vintner, businessman and heir to the Firestone Tire fortune, has come back into the ring after being defeated 12 years ago by Democrat Jack O'Connell. Lorenz is running for the Assembly for the third time — but for the first time as a Democrat. Prior to January 1993, she registered Green Party. Although the Lorenz camp boasts strong support from Sacramento Democrats and says that its candidate's past affiliation makes no difference to voters, it remains to be seen if moderate Democrats support her. Firestone also has near-unlimited funds to support his campaign, while Lorenz must work overtime to even come close. If she has anything going for her, it is the fact that O'Connell is in a tough race in a state Senate district that includes the 35th and 33rd Assembly districts. Although he must work hard in the 33rd to woo new voters, he also must to solidify his home base and ensure that his friends get out the vote on Election Day. **LEANS REPUBLICAN**

DISTRICT 36 (35% D - 51% R) —
Democrat: James Hutchins of Lancaster. Republican: Incumbent William "Pete" Knight of Palmdale. Libertarian: Eric Fussell of Palmdale.

Knight gained notoriety last year when he distributed a poem regarded as racist by Latinos. That gaffe won't matter to district voters. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

DISTRICT 37 (41% D - 44% R) —
Democrat: Dorothy Maron of Oxnard. Republican: Incumbent Nao Takasugi of Oxnard. Libertarian: David Harner of Newbury Park.

Takasugi's stately calm has earned him many admirers in Sacramento, despite a relatively quiet legislative agenda. He and Maron tussled when the two served on the Oxnard City Council, but those local battles have faded, and registration is too good for Takasugi. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

DISTRICT 38 (41% D - 46% R) —
Democrat: Josh Arce of Chatsworth. Republican: Incumbent Paula Boland of Granada Hills. Green: Charles Wilken of Van Nuys.

Arce, an 18-year-old UCLA stu-

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dent, worked his local party organization and actually raised money for enough mail to outpoll an older rival for the Democratic nod. His primary night celebration was short-lived; two days after the election, he had to be back in class to take a final exam. Despite his standing as a living civics lesson, Arce won't be doing much celebrating this fall, as Boland is a virtual lock to return to Sacramento. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

DISTRICT 39 (62% D - 26% R) —
Democrat: Incumbent Richard Katz. Republican: Nicholas Fitzgerald. Both of Panorama City.

A T-shirt Katz sported on the final night of this year's legislative session carried the words "No Fear." It could easily be a reference to what Fitzgerald inspires in him in his quest for an eighth term. A larger question for Katz could be "What next?" After losing a run for L.A. mayor, and passing on a bid for David Roberti's Senate seat, the ever-energetic Katz has two more years to figure out where to go before it's back to the printing business. **SAFE DEMOCRATIC**

DISTRICT 40 (56% D - 30% R) —
Democrat: Incumbent Barbara Friedman of North Hollywood. Republican: Noel Degaetano of Van Nuys. Libertarian: Kelley Ross of Van Nuys.

Friedman also took a look at the Roberti Senate seat before deciding at the last minute to stick with the Assembly. Degaetano will not likely pose enough of a threat to keep her out, although Friedman's district is not as liberal as its incumbent. **SAFE DEMOCRATIC**

DISTRICT 41 (51% D - 36% R) —
Democrat: Sheila James Kuehl of Santa Monica. Republican: Michael Meehan of Santa Monica. Libertarian: Philip Baron of Tarzana.

Kuehl is a law professor, a founder of the California Women's Law Center, and a civil and children's rights activist with a resume as long as your arm. What most people both in and out of her district know best about her, however, is that she was the actress who portrayed Zelda Gilroy, the ardent, would-be par amour of TV's Dobie Gillis. This November, Kuehl is considered a good bet to become known as something else: the first openly homosexual member of the California Legislature. Kuehl easily outpolls five male candidates in the Democratic primary. The GOP, having

been bloodied two years ago trying to make a run at Terry Friedman, has apparently decided not to exert much effort here this time, as their first choice of candidates, 1992 challenger Christine Reed, passed on the race for health reasons. Meehan is a law student at the same school, Loyola, where Kuehl is a professor, and he's also a reserve deputy sheriff. His campaign is standard-issue GOP, which isn't likely to be as effective in a district that votes more liberally than its registration would indicate. Kuehl's sexual preference has not been an issue, and even if it were, the out-going incumbent's advocacy of gay rights in the Legislature hasn't appeared to have measurably hurt him at home. If the race doesn't turn ugly, Kuehl appears destined to have better luck with the voters than Zelda did with Dobie. **LEANS DEMOCRATIC**

DISTRICT 42 (59% D - 25% R) —
Democrat: Wally Knox of Los Angeles. Republican: Robert Davis of West Hollywood. Libertarian: Eric Fine of Beverly Hills.

The most expensive legislative primary of the year was waged in this posh district of "limousine liberals." Nearly \$1.5 million was spent by the seven Democrats vying for the right to replace incumbent Burt Margolin, who ran for insurance commissioner. Nearly a third of that total was spent by Knox, a trustee on the Los Angeles Community College District board, who loaned himself much of what he spent and positioned himself as the most moderate of the group. The general does not figure to be nearly so competitive, as any of the seven Democrats in the primary would have figured to be better financed than Davis. **SAFE DEMOCRATIC**

DISTRICT 43 (44% D - 41% R) —
Democrats: Adam Schiff of Burbank. Republican: Incumbent James Rogan of Glendale. Libertarian: Willard Michlin of Los Angeles.

This isn't the first time this year that Rogan and Schiff have faced each other. Rogan won his seat in a May special election to replace veteran Pat Nolan, who resigned after pleading guilty to political corruption charges. Last-minute help from Sacramento pushed the former municipal court judge over the 50 percent mark, easily beating Schiff and the other Republicans and removing the need for a run-off. Within days the rest of the Republicans who had filed for the seat dropped out of the race, giving Rogan a free ride in the June primary.



Rogan



Schiff

Even though he's beaten Schiff once, however, the general election will not be a breeze for Rogan. Schiff, a federal prosecutor, spent just enough to be assured of being the top Democrat in both the special and the primary. In the fall, he'll have lots of help from Sacramento. His prosecutorial experience makes the crime issue something of a wash, and Schiff has closely matched his opponent's fund-raising to date. Rogan's conservatism has brought him the backing of the deep-pocketed Allied Business PAC and his victory in the special gave him access to the formidable resources that Sacramento leadership can use to protect incumbents. Schiff, however, hopes to use the right-wing backing against Rogan, painting him as being too conservative for the district. The tactic is similar to that used to elect Debra Bowen in a GOP-leaning district in 1992, and could stick in a district that voted for Bill Clinton and Barbara Boxer in 1992. Rogan, however, has already proved he has strong support in the community, and the advantages of incumbency may prove difficult to overcome. **TOSSUP**

DISTRICT 44 (45% D - 42% R) —
Democrat: Bruce Philpott of Pasadena. Republican: Incumbent Bill Hoge of Pasadena. Libertarian: Ken Saurenman of Duarte.

Another district that voted more Democratic in 1992 than registration suggests, and another district where Democrats believe they have a chance to knock off a GOP incumbent. Hoge took a third of the GOP primary vote in his 1992 maiden run by being the choice of the conservatives, but only polled 51 percent against a Democrat who spent a meager \$5000. This year, a much more formidable foe looms in Philpott, a retired Pasadena police chief who pioneered community policing in the area. In a year where crime is the key issue, Philpott offers a genuine law-enforcement credential, one that Hoge has sought to blunt by trumpeting endorsements from the CHP officer's union and the L.A. Police Protection League. Hoge also has not exactly set Sacramento ablaze — the



Hoge



Philpott

closest thing to fame he's received since arriving is as part of a triumverate of conservatives competing to see which can cast the most "no" votes. Hoge won. The result of all this is that Assembly Republicans have been forced to put Hoge at the top of their list of vulnerable incumbents. That will mean not only lots of money, but help on the ground from the party, which will also be defending Rogan (see 43rd District above) and Congressman Carlos Moorhead in the same general area. Of course, the Democrats also will be working hard on the same things. Republicans also believe they will get help in the 'burbs from President Bill Clinton's low approval ratings and from the problems faced by the Kathleen Brown campaign. The race will be won or lost in the trenches. Look for lots of mail, lots of phone-banking, and lots of money. TOSSUP

DISTRICT 45 (62% D - 21% R) —

Democrat: Antonio Villaraigosa. Republican: Robert Jung. Libertarian: Pam Probst. All of Los Angeles.

All the fun in this heavily-Latino district was in the primary, where Villaraigosa outpolled the hand-picked choice of departing incumbent Richard Polanco. Jung won't provide much of a challenge in November. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 46 (65% D - 20% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent Louis Caldera. Republican: Yong Yang. Peace and Freedom: William Williams. All of Los Angeles.

Caldera is considered one of the up-and-coming members of the '92 rookie class, and is already expected to be among those who will lead the Assembly into the era of term-limits after 1996. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 47 (75% D - 14% R) —

Democrat: Kevin Murray of Los Angeles. Republican: Jonathan Leonard of Los Angeles. Libertarian: Kevin Murphy of Culver City. Peace and Freedom: Tamara Taleebah of Los Angeles.

If the 42nd District was the most expensive primary, the race to replace

incumbent Gwen Moore was probably the most competitive. Nine Democrats ran for the seat, of which six had legitimate shots. Murray won with 21 percent of the vote, thanks to an aggressive slate-mail campaign and help from the burgeoning political machine of his father, Assemblyman Willard Murray. The younger Murray's primary victory has assured him of joining his father in Sacramento, as the district is one of the most Democratic in the state. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 48 (87% D - 5% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent Marguerite Archie-Hudson of Los Angeles.

Seen any good movies lately? SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 49 (60% D - 26% R) —

Democrats: Incumbent Diane Martinez of Baldwin Park. Republican: George Nirschl III of San Gabriel. Libertarian: Kim Goldsworthy of Pasadena.

It was touch-and-go for a while for Martinez this spring, as she faced a tenacious challenge from Monterey Park Councilwoman Judy Chu. It must be in the genes; her father, Congressman Matthew Martinez, also seems to attract competitive primaries. Chu hammered away at the incumbent's reputation for abrasiveness, and attacked Martinez' endorsement of Los Angeles Mayor Richard Riordan. Like her father, however, the younger Martinez should have little trouble winning a return trip to Sacramento. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 50 (68% D - 20% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent Martha Escutia of Huntington Park. Republican: Gladys Miller of Bell Gardens. Peace and Freedom: Alma Strowiss of Huntington Park.

Escutia is sufficiently confident of re-election that she planned her wedding this fall. Miller isn't likely to spoil the party. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 51 (71% D - 18% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent Curtis Tucker Jr. of Inglewood. Republican: Adam Michelin of Los Angeles.

Tucker won't even tire against Michelin. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 52 (80% D - 11% R) —

Democrats: Incumbent Willard Murray of Paramount. Republican: Richard Rorex of Gardena.

Murray's growing slate-mail machine in South-Central Los Angeles hasn't insulated him from attracting primary

challenges. This year, he polled 57 percent in the primary against a former Compton councilwoman who was under investigation for corruption and had to deal with a serious family problem late in the campaign. Still, winning the primary is the only ticket Murray needs in this seat. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 53 (43% D - 41% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent Debra Bowen of Marina Del Rey. Republican: Julian Sirull of Redondo Beach. Libertarian: William Gaillard of Redondo Beach. Peace and Freedom: J. Kevin Bishop of Los Angeles.

If Julian Sirull had money, or name recognition, or even the active backing of Sacramento Republicans, this district would be one of the linchpins of the GOP fall strategy. Registration alone would seem to make Bowen a ripe target for the GOP. Sirull, however, has none of the above-mentioned advantages. He didn't even win the primary very convincingly, eking out a victory on the strength of his opponent's decision to list himself on the ballot as a "casualty claims adjuster." Perhaps one reason for the GOP's lackluster recruit-

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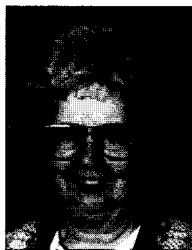
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ing was the incumbent. Bowen has built a reputation as one of the more well-regarded members of the Legislature's freshmen class, and has avoided the possible electoral trap of tying herself too closely to Willie Brown. Sirull has spoken about Bowen's tendency to avoid controversial stands, saying she focused instead on less important matters, such as computer issues. Bowen, however, cast a tough vote on the 1993 budget, and has also taken on the issue of campaign finance reform. Bowen's bursts of independence seem to fit a district which gave Ross Perot significant support in 1992. Unless the GOP poobahs see something in Sirull that even the district's Republican voters had trouble discerning, he's not likely to get a lot of help, unless late polling shows Bowen to be suddenly vulnerable. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 54 (45% D - 41% R) —
Democrat: Incumbent Betty Karnette of Long Beach. Republican: Steven Kuykendall of Rancho Palos Verdes. Libertarian: Alan Carlan of Rancho Palos Verdes.

Karnette was not quite as lucky as



Karnette



Kuykendall

Bowen (see above) in the caliber of opposition she will have to face to win re-election. Republican Kuykendall beat back a strong primary opponent in conservative restaurateur Jeff Earle, winning on the strength of broad local support and name recognition. Earle had more money and a slew of appearances and endorsements from big-name conservative luminaries, and was also a favorite of the conservative Allied Business PAC. Kuykendall, however, also had some big-name support in the endorsement of Long Beach resident George Deukmejian. The Rancho Palos Verdes councilman also worked the population-heavy Long Beach area, work that will stand him in good stead against Karnette. The Assembly Republican leadership has heavily targeted

this race, as Karnette and the California Teachers Association blindsided them two years ago in her victory over longtime incumbent Gerald Felando. Karnette can expect the same kind of help again, and more from the Assembly leadership if she needs it. The candidates will have to fight for the middle ground. Kuykendall is a moderate Republican with a history of having voted to raise taxes when necessary to balance his city's budget, and Karnette has been working to cover her own right flank by focusing on business and port redevelopment issues. The Democrat's grandmotherly image may win her a few votes, but she won't have the advantages of a top-of-the-ticket Democratic landslide or a staunch conservative opponent, both advantages she enjoyed two years ago. TOSSUP

DISTRICT 55 (68% D - 20% R) —
Democrat: Incumbent Juanita McDonald of Carson. Libertarian: Daniel Dalton of Long Beach.

McDonald knocked off two incumbent legislators in 1992 and since has built a solid reputation among the rookie class. A Libertarian juggernaut

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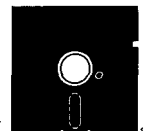
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does not appear to loom on the horizon. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 56 (50% D - 38% R) —
Democrat: Incumbent Bob Epplé of Long Beach. Republican: Phil Hawkins of Bellflower. Libertarian: Arthur Hays of Long Beach.



Epplé



Hawkins

Epplé's re-election has been threatened so often that he qualifies as an endangered species. This year, as in 1992, the challenger is Hawkins, a Cerritos businessman who came within 1400 votes of winning last time around. Hawkins came close with the help of the conservative Allied Business PAC, which will be back to help again this year. Hawkins also boasts more money of his own and better organization than

he had two years ago. Epplé, who chairs the Assembly Public Safety Committee, has voted as hard-right on crime as any Republican, but nonetheless is being targeted for the liberal reputation of the committee he heads. Although he'll fight a defensive battle, Epplé's arsenal is far from empty. Once again, the deep pockets of Speaker Brown will be plumbed by the perennially-beleaguered incumbent, producing an expensive and probably bloody race. New year, same story: Look for another photo finish. TOSSUP

DISTRICT 57 (57% D - 31% R) —
Democrats: Martin Gallegos of El Monte. Republican: Frank Yik of El Monte. Libertarian: David Argall of La Puente.

Incumbent rookie Hilda Solis is running for the state Senate, so for the second election in a row, this became an open seat. El Monte councilman Gallegos won a hotly contested primary in this eastern San Gabriel Valley district, taking out the choice of ex-Assemblywoman Sally Tanner, who represented the area for years. The 40 percent Latino registration means this district was drawn for a Democrat and

a Latino, and they will get both in Gallegos. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 58 (64% D - 26% R) —
Democrat: Incumbent Grace Napolitano of Norwalk. Republican: James Marymée of Norwalk. Libertarian: John McCready of Whittier.

Napolitano has clear sailing in 1994, a far cry from her bloody primary battle two years ago. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 59 (40% D - 48% R) —
Democrat: Margalo Ashley-Farrand of Arcadia. Republican: Incumbent Richard Mountjoy of Arcadia.

The voters in this district seem to like conservative Republican Richard Mountjoy, as they've been electing him for the last decade and a half. This November, they're in for a special treat: an opportunity to cast a vote for Mountjoy for both the Senate and the Assembly. As the highest vote getter in the special Senate election to replace the imprisoned Frank Hill, Mountjoy is the GOP representative on the runoff ballot. He also, however, remains on the ballot to retain his Assembly seat. Mountjoy should win; if he wins both times, there

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will just have to be another special election to fill his Assembly seat. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

DISTRICT 60 (43% D - 43% R) —

Democrat: Andrew Ramirez of West Covina. Republican: Incumbent Paul Horcher of West Covina. Libertarian: Michael Welte of Pomona

Horcher also ran for the open Hill seat, but lost out to Mountjoy in the September 13th election. He'll have to settle for the Assembly, to which he will be returned with little resistance from Ramirez. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

DISTRICT 61 (45% D - 43% R) —

Democrat: Larry Silva of Chino Hills. Republican: Incumbent Fred Aguiar of Ontario.

Aguiar, of Portuguese decent but often mistaken for a member of the Latino caucus, has found a perfect match with this Republican but increasingly minority district. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

DISTRICT 62 (59% D - 31% R) —

Democrat: Incumbent Joe Baca of San Bernardino. Republican: Tom Hibbard of Loma Linda.

Baca, the youngest in a Latino family from New Mexico, is known as one of the more tenacious freshmen. He'll be back for more. **SAFE DEMOCRATIC**

DISTRICT 63 (40% D - 48% R) —

Democrat: Richard Edwards of Redlands. Republican: Incumbent Jim Brulte of Rancho Cucamonga.

Assembly Minority Leader Brulte has his hands full with elections this year, but not in his own district. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

DISTRICT 64 (44% D - 45% R) —

Democrat: Roberta "Bobbi" Meyer. Republican: Incumbent Ted Weggeland. Libertarian: Jane Henson. All of Riverside.

Newcomer Weggeland, one of the youngest members of the Assembly, fought a tough primary two years ago. He won't have to lift a finger to keep the seat this time. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

DISTRICT 65 (41% D - 47% R) —

Democrat: Richard Sandoval of Moreno Valley. Republican: Brett Granlund of Yucaipa.

When GOP Assemblyman Paul Woodruff announced last winter that he was returning to private business, it produced a crowded Republican pri-

mary. And that's where the real battle for this district took place. Granlund, a Yucaipa city councilman and a conservative, edged out seven others, gaining less than a third of the vote. He helped his own cause with a ton of his own cash. Sandoval was the top vote-getter among the three Democrats in the primary, but he'll have to perform a political miracle to defeat Granlund. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

DISTRICT 66 (34% D - 53% R) —

Democrat: David Hendrick of Wildomar. Republican: Bruce Thompson of Fallbrook. Peace and Freedom: Erin Wood of Fallbrook.

GOP freshman Assemblyman Ray Haynes decided last year to run for the state Senate, and his place in the Assembly will be taken by Thompson, a businessman, Mormon and volunteer firefighter. He won that honor in the June primary when he defeated Kevin Jeffries and Haynes' staffer Trudy Thomas. Thompson seeded much of his campaign with his own cash, and his ability to write big checks to himself — plus overwhelming GOP registration — makes him a cinch in the fall. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

DISTRICT 67 (35% D - 51% R) —

Democrat: Jonathan Woolf-Willis. Republican: Incumbent Doris Allen. Both of Huntington Beach.

Six-term incumbent Allen has a battle royale waiting for her — but not in this district and not in this race. She is expected to challenge for the state Senate seat being vacated early next year when Republican Marian Bergeson takes her place on the Orange County Board of Supervisors. Allen's likely opponent will be GOP Assemblyman Gil Ferguson, who decided not to seek re-election in 1994. The two have been sniping at each other for months, and everyone expects it to escalate into a delicious brawl by the time Allen and Ferguson square off in a special election sometime next spring. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

DISTRICT 68 (42% D - 45% R) —

Democrat: Irv Pickler of Anaheim. Republican: Incumbent Curt Pringle of Garden Grove.

Republicans aren't worried about this seat. Pringle is mentioned as a prime candidate to succeed Jim Brulte as minority leader when term limits force Brulte out in 1996. Democrats, however,

would like to make the fall campaign uncomfortable for Pringle and thought they had the candidate in Pickler, an Anaheim councilman who is popular in his hometown. But the '70ish Pickler was injured in a car accident last winter, and his campaign lost its momentum when Pickler lost his typical spunk. Democrats hope that Pickler may yet provide a threat to Pringle, but observers agree that the chances are close to nil. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

DISTRICT 69 (54% D - 36% R) —

Democrat: Mike Metzler. Republican: Jim Morrissey. Libertarian: George Reis. All of Santa Ana.

When this district was redrawn in 1992, it was assumed to go to a Latino or other minority candidate. It's the only relatively safe Democratic territory in Orange County, and about two-thirds of the population is Latino. But Latinos typically don't vote in large numbers, and the local Latino political community couldn't agree on a candidate to replace Democratic Assemblyman Tom Umberg, who's running for attorney general. As a result, two Latinos split their community's vote in the Democratic primary, allowing the Umberg-backed Metzler to slip past them. Metzler, the president of the Orange County Chamber of Commerce, has both the advantage of Democratic registration and a strong business background. The GOP is trying to pump up Morrissey, who might have had a chance against a liberal Democrat. **SAFE DEMOCRATIC**

DISTRICT 70 (30% D - 55% R) —

Democrat: Jim Toledano of Costa Mesa. Republican: Marilyn Brewer of Irvine.

Conservative Republicans are kicking themselves over this election. The overwhelmingly GOP district was abandoned by GOP Assemblyman Gil Ferguson, who decided not to seek re-election in anticipation of his run early next year for the state Senate (see District 67, above). In his place, he annointed Tom Reinecke, son of the former lieutenant governor. But another conservative appeared on the primary horizon — Irvine Councilman Barry Hammond, who had the backing of Senator Rob Hurtt and Allied Business PAC. The two beat themselves up in June — and both lost to a moderate: Brewer, an aide to Orange County Supervisor Tom Riley. Now, she'll waltz past Toledano, a perennial Democratic candidate. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**



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DISTRICT 71 (29% D - 57% R) —

Democrat: Jeanne Costales of Lake Forest. Republican: Incumbent Mickey Conroy of Santa Ana.

Conroy continues. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 72 (33% D - 55% R) —

Democrat: Allan Dollison of Santa Ana. Republican: Incumbent Ross Johnson of Fullerton. Libertarian: Geoffrey Braun of Placentia.

There's a rumor that Johnson's planning on moving into Senate District 35 to add another voice to the crowd lining up to succeed Marian Bergeson once she moves onto Orange County Board of Supervisors (see Districts 67 and 69, above). Won't that make a pretty picture? SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 73 (31% D - 53% R) —

Democrat: Lee Walker of Laguna Nigel. Republican: Incumbent Bill Morrow of Diamond Bar. Libertarian: B. Wade Hostler of Oceanside. Peace and Freedom: Tonatiuh Rodriguez-Nikl of Carlsbad.

Conservative Morrow returns for a

second term. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 74 (31% D - 50% R) —

Democrat: Poppy Demarco Dennis of Del Mar. Republican: Howard Kaloogian of Carlsbad. Libertarian: Daniel Mube of Carlsbad. Peace and Freedom: Claudio Ferrari of Vista.

Money, money, money — lots of it was spent in this GOP primary. Four Republicans spent over \$100,000 each, but Kaloogian was the only conservative with the cash. He's got this one wrapped up now. Dennis has high hopes of scoring ahead of Kaloogian on Election Day, but wishes and daydreams don't get Democrats elected to seats this Republican. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 75 (31% D - 51% R) —

Democrat: Katherina Wodehouse of Ramona. Republican: Incumbent Jan Goldsmith of Poway. Libertarian: J.C. Anderson of San Diego. Peace and Freedom: Ann Archer of Alpine.

Goldsmith has had a rocky first term but has worked hard of late to polish his legislative style. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 76 (41% D - 41% R) —

Democrat: Susan Davis. Republican: Bob Trettin. Libertarian: Jerry Balistreri. Peace and Freedom: Donald Lake. All of San Diego.



Davis



Trettin

Democratic incumbent Mike Gotch finally decided last year that he really lived in Napa County rather than in San Diego, and so prudently decided not to seek re-election. That posed a problem for his party, which had to come up with another "miracle Democrat" who could attract moderate and independent voters. Registration here tends to favor Republicans, but San Diego voters often don't pay attention to party loyalty. Democrats are high on Davis, a San Diego school board member. Republicans have put their faith in busi-

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nessman Trettin, who's been supported by gun owners, has some financial resources of his own, and has some district name recognition thanks to losing local races in the past. Davis didn't have a lot of cash mid-summer, but that could change quickly if Sacramento Democrats come to her aid. TOSSUP

DISTRICT 77 (40% D - 44% R) —
Democrat: Incumbent Tom Connolly of Lemon Grove. Republican: Steve Baldwin of El Cajon.



Baldwin



Connolly

This is a rematch of one of the more interesting races of 1992. While registration indicates that the GOP should have no problem, district voters opted for Democrat Connolly two years ago because Republican Baldwin was too far to the right. Conservatives tend to dominate the GOP apparatus in these parts and, as such, usually can elect their candidates — in primaries. But the general voting population is much more moderate and independent. Thus, Baldwin, an anti-abortion activist who once claimed — on camera — that the Air Force had an official witch, was seen as too much of a kook. Connolly, meanwhile, was a former public defender who admitted to being a recovered drug abuser. The 1992 election was close. Since then, both candidates have had make-overs. Connolly no longer looks like a frump; he's shaved his mustache, gotten a new hairdo and stuck to a rigid middle-of-the-road posture in Sacramento. Baldwin, meanwhile, is distancing himself from some of his more off-the-wall statements of years past and has hired an old Sacramento pro — Ray McNally. He also has the deep pockets of Allied Business PAC back in his corner. Connolly, however, has been plagued by a wealth of bad publicity, much of it stemming from sexual harassment charges brought against him by four members of his district staff. Although Assembly Rules found the charges to be unsubstantiated, the sour aroma lingers over the campaign. TOSSUP

DISTRICT 78 (38% D - 43% R) —
Democrat: Incumbent Dede Alpert of San Diego. Republican: Bruce Henderson of La Jolla. Peace and Freedom: James Fife of San Diego.



Alpert

Republicans drool when they see the registration numbers for this district. Then they lose their appetite when they see incumbent Alpert and her popularity in the district. She's a bit liberal for this moderate district, but she's a hardworking lawmaker who's become something of an icon for the area. There are a large number of independent and decline-to-state voters in this district — voters who typically break for Alpert. Henderson, on the other hand, is a conservative who may have to wait for term limits to oust Alpert in 1996. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 79 (55% D - 30% D) —
Democrat: Incumbent Denise Moreno Ducheny of San Diego. Republican: John Vogel III of San Diego. Peace and Freedom: Lasal Faten of Chula Vista.

Twenty-seven votes determined the representative from this district. That's Ducheny's margin of victory over Chula Vista Mayor Tim Nader in a special election last spring to fill the vacancy left when Democrat Steve Peace was elected to the Senate. Given the registration and the Latino cant of this district, Ducheny should hold it for her full three terms. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 80 (49% D - 40% R) —
Democrat: Incumbent Julie Bornstein. Republican: Jim Battin. Both of Palm Desert.

This is a marginal GOP district that lies along the Mexican border east of San Diego. But two years ago, it fell to Democrat Bornstein, who beat former Assemblywoman Tricia Hunter. Once in Sacramento, Bornstein proved to be a smart and saavy lawmaker, and was a near-unanimous choice of insiders as *California Journal's* "rookie of the year." Some even consider her a future speaker once Willie Brown Jr. departs in 1996.



Bornstein



Battin

As a result, Democrats will do all they can to protect her. Republicans, on the other hand, see her as statewide target *numero uno*. Originally, it was thought that Hunter would seek a rematch, but she ultimately decided not to try. That left a thin GOP field to Battin, a television advertising executive. As an ad executive, he's tied into the business community and has hired GOP consultant Ray McNally. Republican leaders think Bornstein's weak spot is her tie to the speaker, but that tactic has repeatedly failed in past elections. Bornstein has a good money base from which to start the campaign, while Battin's efforts haven't caught fire as yet. Still, he can expect substantial help from Sacramento — as can Bornstein. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

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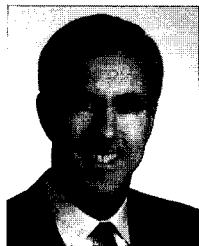
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Board of Equalization

DISTRICT 1 (54% D - 30% R) —

Democrat: Johan Klehs of San Leandro. Republican: Robert Strawn of Pleasanton. Libertarian: Kennita Watson of Palo Alto.



Klehs

The 1st District BOE seat has been vacant for more than a year following the resignation of former incumbent Democrat Bill Bennett. With registration firmly Democratic, the race to succeed Bennett essentially ended when Klehs, a six-term Democratic assemblyman, decided to seek the post. The district itself stretches from the top of the state to the Bay Area and east to the Sierra Nevada. Strawn is a former board auditor and tax manager for an electronics company. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 2 (46% D - 41% R) —
Democrats: Robert Presley of Sacramento. Republican: Dean Andal of Stockton. American Independent: Ernest Vance of Sacramento.

District 2 provides as good a board race as has come down the pike in — perhaps ever. The two contestants are both current legislators, but with vastly different experience levels. Democrat Presley has been in the Senate for 20 years; Republican Andal has sat in the Assembly for four years. Neither one, however, wanted to be known strictly as a lawmaker. Andal listed himself as a “businessman, state legislator.” Presley, on the other hand, tried to pass himself off as a “peace officer,” a designation born of his previous career as undersheriff of Riverside County. A Sacramento judge went along with Presley, but he was overruled on appeal. Presley now will be designated as



Andal



Presley

a lawmaker. On more philosophical matters, both candidates fall to the right, with Andal the more conservative. Voters will see the expected direct mail and advertising push from both candidates. Andal's campaign is sure to focus on Presley's roots, as well. Presley had to move to get into the 2nd District so that he no longer lives in the Senate district he represents. Andal has deep roots in the district, but that counts only in his hometown of Stockton. The district covers 28 counties from San Bernardino in the south to Plumas in the north, from the Nevada line to the Pacific at Santa Barbara and San Luis Obispo counties. It encompasses more than three million voters. Both will play up their records, which they say qualify them for the seat. Andal boasts that he's never voted for a tax increase; Presley's background as chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee gives him hands-on experience voters might like. Also, early on Presley's bank account out-ranked Andal's 13-to-one, which could help him in a district where repetition, repetition, repetition is the name of the game. TOSSUP

DISTRICT 3 (39% D - 46% R) —
Democrat: Mary Christian-Heising. Republican: Incumbent Ernie Dronenburg Jr. Libertarian: Ken Mason. Peace and Freedom: Maxine Quirk.

Dronenburg — who's been serving for the board since 1978 — could have stayed as long as he wanted had it not been for term limits, which boot him off in 1998. Meanwhile, he'll win his fourth term in November. SAFE REPUBLICAN.



Dronenburg

DISTRICT 4 (57% D - 30% R) —
Democrat: Incumbent Brad Sherman of Santa Monica. Republican: Ernie Dynda of Agoura Hills. Libertarian: Lawrence Goldberg of Burbank. Peace and Freedom: Shirley Rachel Isaacson of Los Angeles.



Sherman

The district, which is contained entirely within the confines of Los Angeles County, is reasonably safe territory for Democrats — safe enough that it was one of three board seats for which incumbent Brad Sherman filed in the primary. Despite a minor upset when Senator David Roberti briefly toyed with a run for the seat, Sherman had unusually clear sailing in the primary, easily besting a field of five other Democrats, one of whom was former Assemblyman Dave Elder. Republican Ernie Dynda is a tax activist with ties to Howard Jarvis, and his anti-government message fits the perceived mood of the electorate. The Board of Equalization, however, is one of those offices nobody understands, and incumbent isn't as much of a liability for Sherman in a district that is this distinctly Democratic. Barring a sudden infusion of cash into Dynda's race, Sherman looks strong. SAFE DEMOCRATIC 

The Bottom Line

GOVERNMENT FINANCE

Single-payer blues

BY SUSAN RASKY

If ever there were an argument for allowing initiative sponsors to amend their imperfect handiwork once it has qualified for the California ballot, but before it actually goes to voters, the single-payer health plan is it.

Formally known as the California Health Security Act, Proposition 186 seeks to establish a health-care system administered and financed by the state to provide coverage for all Californians, including the six million who currently have no insurance. It envisions a comprehensive package of medical, dental, vision, mental-health and long-term care benefits. The money will come from existing state, local and federal health-care programs, as well as from increases in state income, payroll and cigarette taxes.

Reasonable people might differ about the wisdom of imposing tax increases at this point in California's fragile economic recovery, or of replacing the more than 500 private insurance companies in the state with a government-run health bureaucracy. But those are philosophical issues as much as economic ones, and they are not what makes the debate over this particular version of health-care reform so infuriating and so impenetrable.

The real problem with Proposition 186 is more subtle — the methodology and assumptions its authors used to calculate the expenditure and revenue projections on which the proposal rests. The result, apart from a mind-fogging numbers battle with the initiative's critics, is the squandering of what may be the best political opportunity in decades to advance a thoughtful discussion of a single-payer system.

Sidelined early on in the congressional debate over health-care reform, proponents of a national single-payer system had hoped the California initiative would provide a platform to air their alternative. Indeed, it is noteworthy that after all the handwringing in Washington about the need to control health-care costs, the physicians, nurses, consumer activists and liberal politicians who've attached themselves to the single-payer cause are for now the only ones with a plan that actually proposes a cost-control mechanism.

But noble intentions do not guarantee sound economic analysis. So, at its most basic and legitimate level, the battle between Proposition 186 proponents and opponents is about whether the cost of the proposed health-care system will exceed the tax revenues, government program fund transfers and assorted administrative savings that are supposed to finance it. Supporters, most notably the two physicians from U.C. San Francisco, who put the plan and its financing scheme together, say the financing is more than sufficient.

Opponents, who include major insurance companies, the Chamber of Commerce, the National Federation of Independent Businesses and major hospital and HMO trade associations, argue that the shortfall will be \$8.5 billion in 1996, the system's first year of operation, and that it will rise to a whopping \$46.9 billion by 1998, when fully phased in.

Who's right? Who knows. Not the Legislative Analyst's Office, which concludes — perhaps correctly, but not very usefully — that the costs of the system could be less or greater than the funding. In a 15-page "analysis", the LAO offered what Californians might expect: Play around with 13

percent of the state's economy, a \$40-billion state health-insurance industry and a \$100-billion health-care program and big, important stuff could happen. No kidding.

Woe to the layman who ventures into this thicket in search of better answers or an explanation of how the dueling sets of prognostications could vary so widely. At the moment, the only other independent analysis of Proposition 186 is one prepared by Dwayne Banks, a professor and health-care financing specialist at U.C. Berkeley's Graduate School of Public Policy. Using a macroeconomic forecasting model, Banks projected revenues and expenditures for the single-payer system and linked them to the overall performance of the economy between 1996 and 2000. That's a standard form of economic analysis, and in the process he unearthed a variety of statistical and methodological inconsistencies in the initiative that called the author's calculations and operating assumptions into question. Perhaps not fatal flaws, but disturbing things, like failing to account for how the proposed cost-control scheme would reduce revenues available to the system from Medicare and Medi-Cal, like inflating Medi-Cal on the revenue side by 14 percent and on the expenditure side by 8 percent, or neglecting to mention that the financing system is predicated on covering only 78 percent of California's total health-care expenditures. That's important since several countries that provide government-financed health-care packages far less generous than the one envisioned has expenditures well in excess of 78 percent.

Alas for Banks, his conclusion that the cumulative deficit for the single-payer initiative would be \$112.9 billion between 1996 and 2000 has made him the unwitting darling of the initiative's opponents, an object of vilification by the measure's sponsors, and embroiled him in a bitter and somewhat comical battle among warring academic and political factions at U.C. Berkeley, U.C. San Francisco and U.C. San Diego. Alas, too, for California voters. While they mercifully will be spared the gory arithmetic detail of this controversy, they are instead enduring the traditional, uninformative sledge-hammer approach of those who wage California's initiative wars.

Operating under the overwrought moniker of Taxpayers Against the Government Takeover, opponents began their TV and radio advertising in late August. The spots, which warn of horrendous budget deficits, rationed health care and big, bad bureaucracy are produced by the media firm of Goddard, Claussen — the same folks who made those fretful yuppies, Harry and Louise, the ubiquitous symbol of insurance industry opposition to the Clinton health-care plan. Proponents — surprise, surprise — are waging "a campaign by angry health consumers against the insurance lobby and its related interest groups who are attempting to maintain a stranglehold over health care in California."

In a modest attempt at reforming this wretched substitute for informed initiative debate, a state commission earlier this year unanimously recommended that initiative sponsors have a chance to make changes in their measures before the proposals appear on the ballot. Legislation implementing that recommendation died on August 31st. 

Republicans and the crime bill

Before voting in August to block action on a \$33 billion anti-crime bill, Congressman Michael Huffington said it was his protest against the dictatorial excesses of a Democratic leadership that is "drunk on power."

THAT'S BEEN A CONSISTENT THEME FOR THE SANTA Barbara Republican. Huffington has said he was shocked — shocked! — upon arriving in the House to discover that the Democratic-dominated Rules Committee has virtually unbridled power to set the ground rules for floor action on legislation. He says that's one reason he quickly decided to give up on any thought of a sustained career in the House. Instead, of course, he's spent most of his time and a good share of his huge fortune seeking the Senate seat held by Democrat Dianne Feinstein.

Most incoming House members spend enough time hitting their briefing books (or staring at C-SPAN) to catch on to these nuances before arriving. Nonetheless, Huffington has a point: In the House, the Rules Committee can decide which, if any, amendments will even be permitted for consideration when members debate a bill. Sometimes, the panel even dictates the outcome on a touchy issue by imposing a "king of the hill" rule. This provides that a counter-amendment devised by the Democratic leaders will come up last — and that it will supersede a conflicting amendment even if the one opposed by the leaders garners more votes.

In the case of the anti-crime bill that came to the House floor from a House-Senate conference committee, Huffington and most of his fellow Republicans were protesting a rule that did not give them any chance to attack billions of dollars of "social programs" that they said were loaded onto the sprawling measure in the name of crime prevention. They also complained that some provisions to get tough on sex offenders and other criminals had been watered down. And some Republicans, like some conservative Democrats, were clearly responding to the vigorous lobbying of the National Rifle Association against the measure's ban on 19 types of assault weapons — the provision written into the bill through Feinstein's efforts in the Senate.

In a blunder of grand proportions, the Clinton administration and its allies in the House leadership badly miscounted their support on the anti-crime bill. The motion to approve the leadership-crafted rule for debate failed, 210-225. The irony is that Huffington and his GOP colleagues nearly succeeded all too well for their own political good. There was a very real chance that the bill would die on that procedural vote — with Huffington and other Republicans likely to take much of the blame.

In an election year, no politician would want to have to explain to the voters why he or she defeated a bill that promised to subsidize new cops on the beat for every police force in the country. The merits aside, complaints about procedural injustices and pork-barrel spending could seem a rather anemic response. The Republicans would surely be

denounced in campaign ads as the agents of gridlock.

Luckily for Huffington and his fellow Republicans, their party's moderates came to the rescue. Ever since Ronald Reagan's breed of conservatism rode out of the West to dominate the GOP, the party's moderates have been denounced, derided and shoved aside. In the House, the combative conservatism of Congressman Newt Gingrich (R-Georgia) has been considered the ideal. In the California delegation, Gingrich-like conservatives such as Duncan Hunter of El Cajon have taken charge of the GOP contingent while veterans such as Jerry Lewis of Redlands have been shunted aside for their perceived moderation.

When it came to the anti-crime bill, however, the Republican moderates were in perfect political and ideological position to deliver the compromise that brought the comatose measure back to life and brought about its enactment (after a bout of Republican resistance in the Senate.) The moderates' leader in the negotiations, Michael N. Castle, is only a freshman in the House, but he is no political novice. Castle learned the art of political deal-making as governor of Delaware from 1985 through 1992.

But Castle was not some renegade acting against the wishes of his party's ideological purists. He was urged on and advised every step of the way by Gingrich, that paragon of unyielding conservatism. Gingrich positioned himself to have it both ways: helping to engineer Castle's bill-rescuing negotiations with the Democrats even as he spoke against the resulting compromise.

During consideration of the retooled crime bill, Gingrich paid unaccustomed tribute to his Democratic counterpart, House Majority Leader Richard A. Gephardt of Missouri. Gingrich said. But Gingrich nonetheless urged defeat of the compromise bill. "Compared to the terrible bill we had 10 days ago, we are up to a sort of bad bill," he said. "But it is improved."

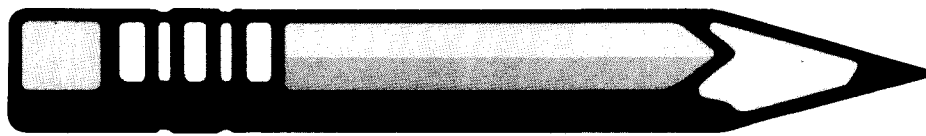
SUCH POLITICAL GYMNASTICS MAY HARM GINGRICH in the long run if they come off as sheer opportunism. But his agility may make Newt-watching one of the nation's major political sports in the months ahead. Gingrich will be moving up to House Minority Leader with the retirement of Bob Michel of Illinois, one of the last of the old-school conciliators. And Gingrich may have much more political currency to put on the line after the November elections.

Analysts are predicting the Republicans will become far more formidable opponents for Clinton and the Democrats. In the Senate, the GOP could win the seven additional seats needed to take control. In the House, the Republicans may gain at least 18 and perhaps as many as 30 seats. That would still fall short of the implausible 40-seat sweep that would give the Republicans control of the House and make Gingrich its speaker. But it would set the stage for Republicans and conservative Democrats to exert effective control of the House on many issues, with Gingrich in the pivotal deal-making position. 🏛️

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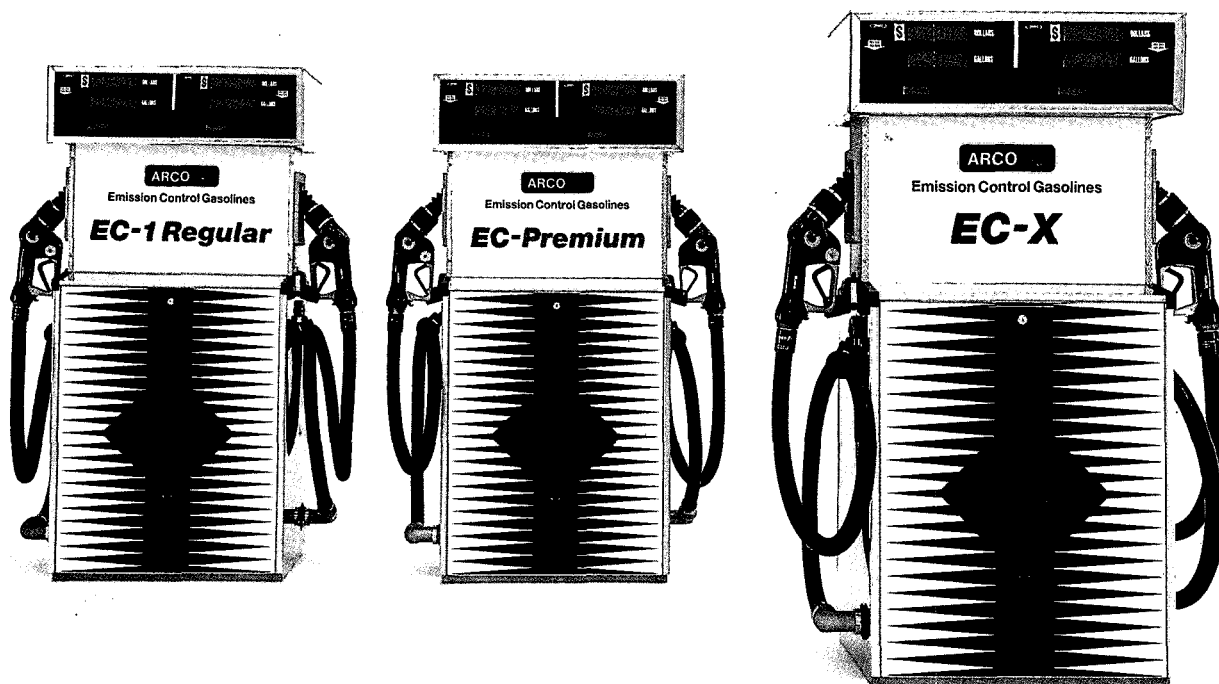
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